FBIS DAILY REPORT

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POLAND'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ON CSCE PROPOSALS

LD262304 Warsaw PAP in English 2007 GMT 26 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP)--Speaking for the TV in connection with tomorrow's start of stage two of the Madrid meeting of representatives of the states-signatories to the CSCE Final Act, Poland's Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Dobrosielski criticized the French idea of calling a European disarmament conference.

Vice-Minister Dobrosielski, who is the leader of the Polish delegation to the Madrid talks, said that the French plan sets certain conditions which make the outcome evident from the start.

In this connection, Vice-Minister Dobrosielski spoke about the French proposal for the conference to embrace Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural Mountains. Dobrosielski stressed that the CSCE Final Act does not include the geographic term "from the Atlantic to the Urals". All it mentions are the states-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The future disarmament conference can dwell on issues like, for instance, reducing military budgets. Why then should these budgets be cut down between the Atlantic and the Urals and not the United States as well?

Marian Dobrosielski also spoke about the Yugoslav and Swedish proposals concerning the military aspects of detente in Europe. He called them a very important compromise.

The Polish vice-minister concluded that the to-date course of the Madrid talks was conducive to improving international relations. Dobrosielski expressed his hope that the Madrid meeting will bring more results than the one in Belgrade and stressed that this is largely dependent on the attitude of the new U.S. administration.

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR DATCU ADDRESSES CSCE MEETING

AU272007 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Madrid, 27 Jan (AGERPRES)--According to the principle of rotation, sanctioned by the CSCE norms, the opening plenary meeting of the second stage of the Madrid meeting was chaired by the head of the Romanian delegation Ambassador Ion Datcu.

In his inaugural statement Romania's representative referred to the highly responsible tasks facing the all-European forum in the current highly complex international situation. The speaker expressed his hope that, by taking into account this responsibility, the need to meet half way the legitimate aspirations of the European peoples, this decisive stage of the Madrid meeting would conclude with tangible results through the joint efforts and cooperation of all participants.

ATA REPORTS 'AGGRESSIVE' JOINT SOVIET MANEUVERS

AU271137 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 27 Jan 81

["Saberattling by the Soviet Social Imperialists"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 27 Jan (ATA)--The Hungarian news agency MTI reports that several staffs and selected troops of the Soviet Army in Hungary concluded the joint tactical maneuvers.

During January the Soviet aggressive troops deployed in several revisionist countries of Eastern Europe have conducted intensive military maneuvres with the participation of thousands of soldiers, tanks and heavy armament. As reported, such maneuvres were conducted some days ago in the territory of Poland, where the Soviet divisions have long since been stationed.

Such an aggressive military activity by the Soviet social imperialists aims at threatening and intimidating the vassal countries and at exerting pressure on them not to detach themselves from the tutelage and dictate of Moscow. Such maneuvres cannot be separated from the turbulent situation and the chaos which prevails in Poland for several months now.

OFFICIALS FROM KOSOVO PROVINCE ARRIVE FOR TALKS

AU272140 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Riza Sapundzija, deputy chairman of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and Saljajdin Jadrasi, provincial secretary for economy, arrived in Tirana on 27 January. Welcoming them were Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Nedin Hoxha, foreign trade minister; Reiz Malile, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and others. Also present was Branko Komatina, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. On the way to Tirana, the visitors from Kosovo stopped in the city of Shkoder where they visited industrial centers and cultural institutions, as well as the new city quarters of Bacallek constructed after the earthquake of 15 April 1979. Lefter Goga, chairman of the Shkoder District People's Council Executive Committee, gave a dinner in their honor.

Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Riza Sapundzija, deputy chairman of the Executive Council of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and Saljajdin Jadrasi, provincial secretary of economy. At this meeting, which passed in a warm atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the development of relations in various spheres between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

KOSOVO, ALBANIAN SCIENCES ACADEMIES SIGN AGREEMENT

AU281034 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 28 Jan 81

["Delegation of the Academy of Science and Arts of Kosovo Arrived in Tirana"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 28 Jan (ATA)--The delegation of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo, headed by the president of this academy Prof. Idriz Ajeti, arrived in Tirana, yesterday. The delegation will sign the protocol on research scientific cooperation for the years 1981-1982 between the Academy of Sciences of the P.S.R. of Albania and the Academy of Sciences and Arts of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo.

The delegation was received by the president of the Academy of Sciences of the P.S.R. of Albania, Prof. Aleks Buda, who gave a dinner in its honour which proceeded in a warm and fraternal atmosphere. Present at the dinner was also the adviser of the Embassy. of S.F.R. of Yugoslavia to the P.S. R. of Albania, Spasoje Tuniq.

U.S. SEEN AS TRYING TO RENEGE ON HOSTAGE ACCORD

AU271953 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 24 Jan 81 p 3

[Mikhayl Noev weekly international commentary: "The Liberation of the U.S. Hostages"]

[Text] The change of the presidential team at the White House coincided with the release of the U.S. hostages detained in Iran. After 14 months, the 52 citizens are home again, and this is what caused the Western commentators' statement that the most serious crisis in relations between the United States and Iran has been overcome and already belongs to the past. Is this true however?

On the last day of his administration, Carter declared that he had reached an agreement with Tehran, composed of two basic elements which can be described as follows: 1) The United States declares its willingness to no longer interfere in Iran's domestic affairs; 2) the Iranian assets frozen in U.S. banks are being released, and opportunities are opened for a future restitution of the wealth robbed by the Shah. This is a great moral and material victory for the Iranian people in defending their dignity and their legitimate rights. Thus, we can assume that the hostage crisis has really been relegated to the past. Nevertheless, the statements made by Ronald Reagan, the new President, only a few days after his inauguration show that this question will continue to be a source of tension in the future.

Attempts by the United States to deviate from the commitments assumed in the agreement are obvious. Officially, this deviation pertains to attempts to freeze the majority of the Iranian assets under different pretexts. Unofficially, however, the present quibbles of the White House pursue a much more essential goal; namely, to invalidate the U.S. declaration that it will not interfere in Iran's domestic affairs. The hints about possible military deliveries from Washington to Tehran support this conclusion, especially considering the opportunity for political pressure which such deliveries offer.

AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUES VISIT

Zhivkov Luncheon

AU271620 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov today received Willibald Pahr, federal minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, also attended the friendly talks. During the talks, the participants were pleased to note that relations between Bulgaria and Austria were good and were developing on an upward course. The issue of expanding cooperation between the two countries in various spheres was also discussed. It was emphasized that the upcoming visit of Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to Bulgaria will give a further impetus to the comprehensive development of bilateral ties. While discussing the international situation, special attention was focused on the countries' activities for safeguarding peace in Europe and the world.

Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, gave a luncheon for Willibald Pahr, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria. Petur Mladenov; Milko Balev; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; members of the State Council, ministers and the officials accompanying the Austrian minister, as well as Stoyan Georgiev and Berta Braun, ambassadors of the two countries, attended the luncheon which was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Talks Continue

AU271612 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Jan (BTA)--Bulgaria and Austria's Foreign Ministers Petur Mladenov and Willibald Pahr found today that the relations of the two countries were developing successfully.

At the formal talks continuing here they emphasized that the two countries' fruitful cooperation was contributing to the process of detente to be established in Europe and in the world.

The two ministers stressed the importance of the meetings of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger and Chancellor Bruno Kresiky for the expanding of bilateral cooperation.

Special stress was laid in the talks on the economic cooperation. It was pointed out that the structure of the trade was improving. The new forms--industrial cooperation, entry to third markets and setting up joint ventures--developed too.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Willibald Pahr made a high assessment also of the cooperation in the field of tourism, science and culture.

Emphasizing the good contractual and legal basis of the relations between Bulgaria and Austria, they emphasized that there existed good possibilities for the development of cooperation in all spheres.

The two ministers also informed each other about their states' relations with other countries.

Meeting With Todorov, Zhivkova

AU271655 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Stanko Todorov has received Willibald Pahr, federal minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, also attended the friendly talks.

Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee for Culture, also met Willibald Pahr, federal minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Austria. The state of Bulgarian-Austrian cultural ties and the possibilities for their further development and expansion were discussed. The ambassadors of the two countries, Stoyan Georgiev and Berta Braun, also attended the talks.

Cultural Plan Signed

AU272012 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Jan (BTA)--Today a plan for cooperation in the field of culture, science and education was approved here by Bulgaria and Austria for the 1981-1983 period. The document was signed by Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee for Culture, and by Austria's Foreign Minister Mr Willibald Pahr who is here on an official visit. The plan provides for activating contacts in the field of the fine arts, music, theater, the cinema, book publishing and libraries, photography and journalism.

Scientific cooperation is to be expanded between the higher educational establishments, museums and in the field of industrial aesthetics and preserving the monuments of culture. Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee for Culture, emphasized that the good contacts in the sphere of culture between Bulgaria and Austria reflected the level of their political relations and were a proof of the desire of the two countries to develop their cooperation in all spheres. She emphasized that Austria was the most active cultural partner of Bulgaria from the nonsocialist countries and thanked for the numerous events that country had organized for the celebrating of the 13th centennial of the foundation of the Bulgarian state.

Mr Willibald Pahr dwelt on the interest existing in Austria for the ancient Bulgarian culture. The two ministers were unanimous in saying that the deepening of the cultural cooperation of Bulgaria and Austria is a contribution to the process of international detente.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN TRICHKOV RETURNS FROM SRV

AU272014 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Krustyu Trichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has returned home from Vietnam. He attended the Ninth Session of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Vietnamese Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation in his capacity as chairman of the Bulgarian side of this commission. A protocol on economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and an agreement on payments and trade between Bulgaria and Vietnam, were signed.

AGRARIAN UNION DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR POLAND

AU280800 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] At the invitation of Stanislaw Gucwa, chairman of the Polish United Peasant Party's Central Committee, a delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, led by its Secretary Petur Tanchev departed for Warsaw on 28 January. Ministers Yanko Markov and Angel Dimitrov, members of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union's permanent board, and Pando Vanchev, minister of communications, are members of the delegation. At Sofia Airport the delegation was seen off by Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member.

LUKANOV, BULGARIAN DELEGATION ARRIVE IN NICARAGUA

AU271600 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] A Bulgarian delegation led by Andrey Lukanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, has arrived in Nicaragua. At (?Sandino) Airport, the delegation was welcomed by Henry Ruiz, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and minister of planning. On behalf of the Nicaraguan people he expressed genuine gratitude to Bulgaria for the comprehensive cooperation and aid which our country is rendering to the revolution in Nicaragua.

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTIONS MEETING

AU281028 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] On 28 January the 28th Accountability-Elections meeting of the Sofia City Dimitrov District party organization took place in Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall. The meeting was attended by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, and Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Sofia City Committee first secretary.

BRIEFS

TRANSPORT PROTOCOL WITH USSR--Over 30 million tons of cargo from the Bulgarian-Soviet foreign trade sector will be transported by sea and river vessels and ferryboats this year. This was decided at a conference of leading managers from the Bulgarian Ministry of Transportation and the USSR Ministry of Navigation, and representatives of both countries' foreign trade ministries. A protocol on the result of this conference was signed in Varna tonight. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 23 Jan 81 AU]

PRESS, RADIO SCORE KOR, SOLIDARITY GOALS, ACTS

'Fifth Column' Aims

AU271521 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 81 p 6

[Article by Warsaw correspondent Jan Lipavsky: "Fifth Column: What Are the True Aims of the So-Called KOR Illegal Group and Its Leaders; Testimonies of the Polish Press"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] LAST OCTOBER I ASKED L. WALESA, LEADER OF THE SO-CALLED INDEPENDENT SOLIDARITY TRADE UNIONS, WHEREIN HE AGREES AND WHEREIN HE DOES NOT AGREE WITH JACEK KURON, ONE OF THE MAIN FIGURES OF THE SO-CALLED COMMITTEE FOR SOCIAL SELF-DEFENSE AND, AS IS KNOWN, ONE OF THE "EXPERTS" OF THE GDANSK SOLIDARITY. AT THAT TIME WALESA GAVE THE FOLLOWING ANSWER: "WHERE I AGREE WITH HIM AND WHERE I DO NOT: THE FACT IS THAT AS AN EXPERT HE IS USEFUL TO ME AT TIMES AND I WILL CONTINUE TO PROFIT FROM HIM..."

The Polish press has portrayed from various sides the political program of opposition groupings in Poland several times. A prominent place among them is held by the so-called Social Self-Defense Committee, whose Polish acronym KOR often appears in reports on activities of antisocialist forces in Poland.

The role assigned to KOR by foreign anticommunist forces coordinating hostile activity against socialist Poland differs substantially from that of the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland (see the article "Why Did 'Confederation' Arise" in RUDE PRAVO of 24 January): It differs both in tactics and in the methods of struggle employed. "CONFEDERATION" WAS ASSIGNED TO PLAY THE ROLE OF AN "EXTREME" ANTICOMMUNIST ORGANIZATION, an organization designed to stir commotion, "feed" anti-Polish propaganda and attract attention at home and abroad. The role assigned to KOR in the script of subversive activities against socialist Poland was that of a "MODERATE OPPOSITION ORGANIZATION," designed to operate so as not to provide a reason for punitive measures. Also in keeping with that is KOR's program characterizing itself as a concept of "evolution" or "gradual erosion" of socialism in Poland.

As stated in TRYBUNA LUDU, that script was worked out in Paris, in the anticommunist center formed around the emigre periodical KULTURA, financed from CIA sources. TRYBUNA LUDU has noted that "this center--which also has close links with anticommunist centers in the United States, especially with the CIA--worked out under 'laboratory' conditions the program and methods of activity, with the aim of gradually 'watering down' the socialist system in Poland."

Who Stands at the Head of KOR?

The emergence of that illegal organization dates back to 1975, when it operated under the name of the so-called Committee for Workers Defense, hence the commonly used acronym KOR (Komitet Obrony Robotniczej). Two years later--in October 1977--that name changed to Social Self-Defense Committee. There were good reasons for it. First of all, the committee pretended to be speaking on behalf of workers even though no workers were represented in it. The main reason was, however, the wish of the creators of the new title to express the broader, all-social platform of their struggle.

Since the very foundation of KOR, Jacek Kuron has been at its head. Adam Michnik is his close companion.

A reader of TRYBUNA LUDU wrote the following in a letter to the editorial office: "... I have heard that Kuron and Michnik are communists fighting for truth and justice...." TRYBUNA LUDU replied to its reader that first, in the period of the so-called personality cult, the Kurons and Michniks contributed to various deformations in social life.

Later on they turned 180 degrees to a "democratic direction" and became vociferous petitioners for "democracy." Gradually they abandoned even that position and assumed their places in the front ranks of the rightwing, taking a great fancy to the bourgeois social system. According to them, that system should replace socialist democracy. When the party took a stand against that, people of the Kuron and Michnik type formed pressure groups which had only a small membership. They assumed their most resolute stand in March 1968 when they wanted to influence student activities and impose on the party their revisionist political line. As TRYBUNA LUDU reports, they had to leave the party at that time. Some of them, following up their antisocialist activities conducted during various times in People's Poland, organized, together with subversive ideological and political centers in the West, opposition groupings, of which KOR turned out to be the most active, TRYBUNA LUDU says in conclusion.

Instructions From the Paris Headquarters

When the crisis occurred in Poland in August, the anticommunist centers in the West did not forget, in assigning tasks, the implementation of their "revolutionary program." The emigre periodical KULTURA issued instructions for "sensible" anticommunism. It directly warned:

"IT WOULD BE LUNACY TO PROCLAIM SLOGANS ON ABANDONING THE WARSAW PACT AND ELIMINATING THE PARTY'S LEADING ROLE. THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENT AND AUTONOMOUS TRADE UNIONS MUST TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PRESENT SOCIAL SYSTEM AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF POLAND'S CURRENT PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. ONE CANNOT ACHIEVE EVERYTHING AT ONCE."

All statements made by KOR leaders must be appraised in light of that instruction.

The KOR Leaders Are Introducing Themselves

On 18 December, TRYBUNA LUDU reported on Jacek Kuron's meeting with Warsaw university students, which took place on 2 December. When asked about his attitude toward socialism he declined to answer. He said "only" that he "prefers not to speak about socialism. It is a word that is so burdened with emotions that on one side it triggers spontaneous smypathy and on another spontaneous aversion."

Kuron presented his concept of struggling against the socialist system in the following way: "The predomination of central party and state power over social life is unacceptable. The party's power has become totally compromised.... WHY DOES SOCIETY NOT TOPPLE THAT POWER? Of course, it can do that any time because that power is pitifully weak. Each confrontation can result in its fall. If there is someone still preserving that power, it is Solidarity, which is making a great endeavor to preserve it!"

In the Warsaw University hall, Kuron further claimed: "The communist party's power must be radically limited and confined to a monopoly only in foreign policy. But in domestic policy, it must be confined to the role of a participant in negotiations resulting in compromises, compromises that are implemented by central state power under social control."

TRYBUNA LUDU has also described the course of a meeting with Adam Michnik, another KOR leader, at the philosophy department of Wroclaw University. There, on 9 December, Michnik expressed, among other ideas, his views on the "causes of August 1980". He would not be himself, TRYBUNA LUDU goes on to say, if he failed to use that opportunity to defame and criticize the Soviet Union, Polish bonds of alliance, and party policy since 1944. He even attacked the Yalta Conference of the three powers--the USSR, United States and Great Britain--in February 1945. That "defender of workers" also shed bitter tears over the "lack of awareness" of the Polish workers class.

In a similarly tendentious, distorted and false manner Michnik also appraised the question of security and bonds of alliance, which in the present international situation, as TRYBUNA LUDU adds, is an example of particularly gross irresponsibility. One expression of antisocialist stubbornness is his criticism of the Yalta Conference which laid the foundations for the postwar borders (confirmed by the Potsdam Conference in August 1945) and thus created the international legal basis for the Polish Oder-Neisse border.

Yet another precept transpired from the discussion with students: "As long as Poland's present political-military bonds of alliance are binding, it is impossible to publicly speak about KOR's political program."

Commenting on that, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote that such casting of doubt on Poland's bonds of alliance amounts to little more than conducting polemics with the socialist system. According to TRYBUNA LUDU, even the BBC called Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik spokesmen for "hawkish" slogans.

Public Admonition

On 13 December last year, the Vatican, French, Italian, American and British press all took note of the critical appraisal of Michnik's adventurous statements made by the spokesman for the Polish Episcopate, Urszulik, at a press conference. Incidentally, the "vociferous and irresponsible declarations of KOR directed against our eastern neighbor" were also condemned at that press conference.

The Polish Episcopate's stand met with great response throughout the western world. An unprecedented thing, the Episcopate criticizes "Polish opposition!" The Polish press reported that on 13 December last year Paris LE FIGARO wrote that Urszulik "condemned those in the lap of KOR and in dissident centers who are incapable of displaying a sense of responsibility." (That criticism means nothing else but a reminder to the KOR leaders that they are exceeding the framework of the program and script of activity assigned to them, that such statements are premature and not in keeping with the tactics of "evolution.")

Who Is To Be Served by the So-Called Independent Trade Unions?

As early as August, PZPR Central Committee representatives stated that the so-called independent, self-governing trade unions were introduced among the working people from the outside. The citizen can thus ask today: And where did the other, similar trends in society's political and social life come from? TRYBUNA LUDU notes that, according to Jacek Kuron's confession in the Warsaw University mall, the KOR leaders stipulated as the "first goal" of their activity: The self-governing, independent trade unions and a "farmers movement" (which is now evidently to be hidden under the name of the so-called Independent Trade Unions of Private Farmers). Furthermore, the gentlemen from KOR are planning--in TRYBUNA LUDU's words--"for the time being all types of self-administration," beginning with students and ending the economy. But all that has a partial character, as TRYBUNA LUDU states. The question is, therefore, who is to work out an overall, general program in that direction?

The answer is given by Kuron:

"If that program were to be drawn up by a single Polish workers party--all the evil that has been thrown out the window would come back. That means that the self-governing movement must be transformed into political parties, which will work out that general program. I see the opposition's future," Kuron goes on to say, "precisely in the self-governing movement. And that goal is to be served also by a parliament, consisting of two chambers...."

Kuron's key postulate, as TRYBUNA LUDU comments, is thus the liquidation of the PZPR's leading political and program-setting role. That, at least, is true "for the time being," for the near future.

That is thus the way in which political opposition should be mobilized. The goal is to transform the present institutions of the socialist state and to dismantle its political structure, with all the consequences for the social system. The main slogan in that process is implementing the doctrine of political pluralism, a doctrine which Kuron borrowed from bourgeois theoreticians who have worked out miscellaneous concepts of the current struggle against the communist movement and states of real socialism, TRYBUNA LUDU emphasizes.

Threats to the Government

"The government must come to understand that institutionalizing conflicts and compromises is the only way to base public life on the principle of social agreement," A. Michnik declares in KOR's information bulletin No. 6 of 1980. "When it is the other way around, THE ONLY COMMITTEES SETTING A FIRE (that is the edifices of people's power--J.L.'s note) WILL ILLUMINATE THE TRUE CONTOURS OF THE PICTURE OF SOCIETY."

Incidentally, that counterrevolutionary plan is also contained in the illegal GDANSK ROBOTNIK, where it was Kuron for a change who wrote about the "need to further water down state structures."

In an interview for the weekly DER SPIEGEL toward the end of December 1980, Kuron called the new trade unions an "alternative force, won from the state power." That force is designed to "hold the Polish political system in check."

"IT IS NO SECRET," S. Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said justly at a recent consultation of PZPR primary organization functionaries "THAT SOLIDARITY IS A ZONE OF ACTIVE INFILTRATION BY ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM, PEOPLE WHO--AS WE HAVE STRESSED MORE THAN ONCE--SET THEMSELVES OUTRIGHT COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY GOALS AND MAKE NO SECRET OF IT. WE HAVE AT OUR DISPOSAL A NUMBER OF FACTS BEARING TESTIMONY TO THE IDEOLOGICAL HARM CAUSED BY SOME PUBLICATIONS BEING ISSUED UNDER SOLIDARITY'S NAME; FROM IRRESPONSIBLE ANTISOCIALIST ACTIONS, ATTEMPTS TO SEIZE VARIOUS PUBLIC BUILDINGS, TO COERCED DECISIONS AND TO THE ORGANIZATION OF SALLIES AGAINST OUR CADRES. WE SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL FORMS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND STRESS AT THE SAME TIME THAT IN OUR STATE THERE CAN BE NO PLACE FOR DOUBLE RULE," S. Kania said.

Who Wants To Manipulate the "Polish Crisis"?

Instances of blatant Western interference in the internal affairs of Poland are becoming more and more frequent.

A case in point, about which Polish newspapers have written, is the co-called financial assistance granted to Solidarity by the notorious AFL-CIO, one of the most reactionary trade union federations in the world, under the slogan "for educational aims."

The rightwing Milan daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA wrote openly: "The West keeps an eye on the Polish danger," adding, without concealing anything, that both common market countries and the United States "WANT TO MANIPULATE THE POLISH CRISIS IN THEIR OWN WAY AND DEEPEN THE DIFFICULTIES AND DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOCIALIST BLOC."

A frank confession, indeed.

As time goes by, it has thus become clearer and more evident to many Polish citizens that imperialist circles have efficient supporters precisely among the "democratic opposition" represented by Kuron and Michnik.

On 15 March 1977, A. Michnik wrote in the weekly DER SPIEGEL: "No one in Poland counts on the West's military assistance...but the governments of Western countries can have an influence on the situation in Poland. That is true especially of the Social Democratic Government in the FRG."

In an interview with the same magazine on 15 September 1980, the same Michnik says: "I am not advocating an economic embargo against Poland." But at the same time, he says that negotiations on economic exchange should be used to exert political pressure.

In his BULLETIN No 5, Jacek Kuron made those conclusions of Michnik more specific: "It is our fundamental task to transform economic into political factors...but for some time, which may be rather long, we will have to coexist with the totalitarian party-state apparatus. Step by step we will have to narrow down the areas of social and economic life subordinated to the party-state apparatus."

That is the practical implementation of guidelines set by the forces standing behind the Polish counterrevolution, which want the domestic political situation in Poland to be a state of permanent turmoil, full of pressure, conflicts and strikes. This is the danger of the fifth column.

Violating Agreements

LD271752 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] (?The bulk) of the process of socialist reconstruction to fan up terror and anarchy, to attack the government and party authorities and representatives, such is the program which the so-called free trade union Solidarity has put before Polish workers. Saturday's boycott of the working day, as well as continued so-called warning strikes and threats of a general strike in support of the so-called Rural Solidarity, proves that the forces which control the leadership of the Walesa trade union are guilty of attempts to enforce political demands which are contrary to the principles of socialism. An ever larger number of Poles now understand that those who in the present difficult economic situation come out with such issues as the introduction of a 40-hour 5-day working week are objectively against the country's economic consolidation and are acting against the interests of the Polish working people.

The Walesa trade union's propaganda slogans, that Solidarity has full understanding for Poland's difficult economic situation, and that it is only waiting for a clear program for overcoming the economic situation, can no longer cover up the political nature of the so-called free trade union's activity. Solidarity has close contacts with such extremely reactionary forces and organizations as the American AFL-CIO trade unions disclose much about its real aims. [as heard] Foreign commentators also noted that the activity of the Solidarity leadership received wings after Lech Walesa's visit to the Vatican. Neither can one overlook the fact that the former American presidential security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, during his recent meeting with American specialists on Polish affairs, emphasized the indispensability that Polish opposition forces should be enabled access to arms. It is perhaps not necessary to underline that Brzezinski spoke to experts in the (?realm) of cloak and dagger, to the (?knights) of the struggle against progress and socialism.

The latest developments show not the Polish Government but Solidarity is avoiding fulfilment of the agreements between the government and Solidarity. On the contrary, the Polish Government is fulfilling the regulations with full resolution and consistency to the extent that the present economic situation allows. Polish communists are at the head of the events. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, at a meeting yesterday, again called on the government to assess in detail the present situation, and to propose measures necessary to curb the deepening economic crisis. The honest Polish citizens' efforts for a consistent development of the process of the country's socialist reconstruction cannot be successful so long as the forces concentrated around Solidarity continue to resort to arrogance, aggressivity and psychological terror.

It is high time, said the Polish army newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, in a commentary entitled,"Contrary to Sound Reason," yesterday, to replace anarchy, chaos, the war of nerves and passions, by prudence and reason: by constructive dialogue. The doors for such a partnership dialogue are still open. The partnership however must exclude methods of violence, pressure and blackmail. The dialogue is out of the question when at the same time efforts leading to confrontation are being developed. So much from the Polish army newspaper. This is a clear and intelligible answer which cannot be rejected by those who are genuinely interested in taking Poland out of the present problems and in safeguarding its further socialist perspective.

'Stepping Up Tension'

LD272242 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] The Polish People's Republic is still in the throes of a social and economic crisis. A considerable responsibility for this lies with the anarchist positions adopted by the leaders of the so-called Independent Trade Unions Solidarity who are stepping up tension in the country by calling for more demonstrations. Here is our Warsaw correspondent, Frantisek Sojka who sent us the following dispatch a little while ago:

[Begin recording] Today's fresh wave of strikes in several voivodships in protest against the government's alleged failure to implement the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebi accords has intensified the present internal tension as well as Poland's extremely difficult economic situation. The warning and [word indistinct] strikes, including the announcement of a so-called strike alert in some towns and factories demonstrate that Solidarity is primarily working toward a confrontation and creating anarchy. Certain regional representatives of the so-called Independent Trade Unions Solidarity continue to call for pressure to be applied on voivodship bodies and institutions to carry out cadres changes which they themselves dictate.

Information about the cancellation of tomorrow's general strike and its transfer to next Tuesday, which has appeared in Warsaw, as well as reports coming from many places in Poland where strikes were held on Tuesday are causing (?some confusion). Sodidarity, with complete disregard for the harmful effects which the incitement to further strikes has for the economy and the internal political situation, continues to escalate its economic and political demands without its representatives for one moment asking themselves or even finding it possible to answer the question as to how much longer these strikes can continue and where this must inevitably lead. [end recording]

'Ever New Demands'

LD272226 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (CETEKA)--Poland is still in the throes of a social and economic crisis, due to a big extent to the stands of the Independent Trade Unions "Solidarity" characterized by a sharp contrast between words and deeds.

"Solidarity" demagogically asserts that its main target is "defence of the vital interests of the working people" but the practice of its leaders is for the time being resulting in the exact opposite. Lech Walesa and other "Solidarity" leaders have promised on a number of occasions that they would do everything for the earliest possible atonement for the losses caused by the strikes last summer. However, various "Solidarity" organizations are arousing further strikes and actions resulting in new waves of tension and economic losses. "Solidarity" makes ever new demands and accuses the government of failure to honour agreements instead of helping it implement the agreements.

Many of the thousands of demands made by "Solidarity" and other organizations in Poland since last August depend directly on a good run of economy which the "Solidarity" leaders impede by their instigation of new strikes, tension and chaos. The organization has recently concentrated on pressure for clearly political demands, although its leaders are still publicly declaring that their concern is trade union activity exclusively. A characteristic example of this is the exaggerated problem of work-free Saturdays which many Poles see as a pretext for enforcing the registration of a "farmers Solidarity" organization, access to information media, and the release of enemies of socialism detained in Poland on the basis of conclusive evidence of their anti-state and anti-social activity.

Although "Solidarity" is given space on the Polish radio and television and in the press everyday, its leaders maintain that it has no access to the information media and strive for their own radio and television programs and even more space in the dailies. The evident reason is the desire to be able to preach much more broadly their anarchist views and demagogy, and also the clearly anti-socialist and nationalist views of various illegal groups, such as the "Confederation of Independent Poland", "Committee for Political and Social Self-Defence" and others by whose advice they are guided.

The essential contrast between the words and deeds of the "Solidarity" leaders is noticed by the Polish society. Ever more people have doubts about their purely trade union intentions. This has been confirmed inter alia by the fact that most people ignored "Solidarity" appeals and went to work last Saturday. In addition, many rank-and-file members of "Solidarity" are losing confidence in their leaders and stepping out of the organization. They are aware that the present social and economic crisis in Poland cannot be overcome by new and unrealistic demands, anarchy and tension, but by prudent and consistent implementation of the program of socialist restoration set by the sixth and seventh sessions of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee.

'Walesa's Trade Unions'

LD281032 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] Branches of the so-called Walesa's trade unions yesterday provoked new so-called warning strikes in several voivodships.

At the appeal of the so-called Walesa's trade unions, work came to a halt yesterday for 3 hours in some industrial enterprises of Lodz. Among other places, work was stopped in the Uniontex and Panotex cotton combines and public transport was stopped for 1 hour. The so-called Walesa's trade unions also called strikes in enterprises of the Neighboring Piotrkow Voivodship, in industrial enterprises at Bielsko-Biala and in enterprises of the Sieradz Voivodship. A 3-hour strike hit over 30 enterprises and municipal transport in the Bialystok Voivodship.

The new wave of strikes provoked by Walesa's trade unions is met with further deep concern among the Polish public.

DAILY CRITICIZES FRG PRESS, TV REVANCHISM

Springer 'War Psychosis'

LD242054 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 24 Jan 81

[Text] Prague, 24 Jan (CETEKA)--"Just as the revanchists have never reconciled themselves to the postwar order in Europe, also the Springer Press concern refuses to recognize the political realities in the world," today's RUDE PRAVO said.

In an article by its correspondent in Bonn, it said that Springer's periodicals are whipping up a war psychosis, slandering socialist countries, casting doubt on cooperation with them, attempting to intimidate the West German population, and generating mistrust to everyone who respects realities and act accordingly.

The Springer concern, one of the most powerful mainstays of West German big bourgeoisie, would like to transform the political realities in the world according to the old dreams of German imperialism, RUDE PRAVO said.

"The Soviet Union proposed several times to complement political detente with appropriate steps in the military sphere. This thesis has not yet been digested by the Springer team. DIE WELT and BILD resolutely call for deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Already a year ago they came out against ratification of SALT II, and today just as then are opposed to any negotiations with the Soviet Union."

"They have not a word to say about the growing opposition of the West German public to the missiles, and for the supporters of cooperation between countries with different social systems they have only a wall of silence or insults and suspicions."

Thirty-five countries signed in Helsinki the Final Act whose aim is to improve international relations and create conditions under which nations could live in lasting peace. To achieve this, every country must contribute its share, and also the mass media have their responsibility in this respect, RUDE PRAVO said.

FRG TV Series

LD280946 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 28 Jan 81

[From the Press Review]

[Text] The demonstrations of revanchism in the FRG are dealt with in one of the foreign political articles in RUDE PRAVO. Karel Doudera writes that this week West German television will start broadcasting, at peak evening time, a three-part series on the flight and expulsion of Germans from Eastern Europe, that is, from Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The nature of this program can be illustrated by the fact that it is based on documents prepared by revanchist organizations. These documents had also provided the basis for the WELT AM SONNTAG series of so-called historical documentaries published between November 1979 and March 1980. Just like this series in the Springer paper, the new television program too is done in such a way that, inevitably, it will stir up in the FRG a new wave of anti-Soviet, anti-Polish and anti-Czechoslovak sentiments.

The fact that the series will be broadcast precisely at the time when Poland is going through a very critical period, and when the revanchist forces in the FRG are hoping for a collapse in Poland, is telling in itself, RUDE PRAVO emphasizes.

HULA, USSR AMBASSADOR DISCUSS ECONOMIC COOPERATION

LD280014 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] In Prague today, Vaclav Hula, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, federal deputy premier and minister-chairman of the State Planning Commission, received the Soviet ambassador in Czechoslovakia, Aleksandr Botvin. In a talk which passed in a comradely atmosphere, they received a number of topical questions pertaining to economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

JAPANESE BUDDHIST DELEGATION ATTENDS CONFERENCE

AU191815 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Jan 81 p 2

[CTK report: "Japanese Guests in the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--A delegation of Japanese Buddhists, who are in our country at the invitation of the "Christian Peace Conference," was received yesterday by K. Hruza, head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs attached to the CSSR Government Presidium Office. K. Hruza assured the guests of the support of our government for every sincere endeavor aimed at understanding and peaceful cooperation among peoples. The delegation's head, prior of a Buddhist monastery in Hiroshima, pointed out the danger of increasing militarist tendencies in Japan, which represent a serious threat to peace not only in Asia, but also throughout the world. The Japanese delegation has visited several places in the CSSR and in Prague, met representatives of the church and the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES REAGAN ON INAUGURATION

LD201852 Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 20 Jan 81

[Text] Prague, 20 Jan (CTK)--Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak sent a telegram of congratulations to new U.S. President Ronald Wilson Reagan on his inauguration.

CPCZ GREETS ITALIAN PARTY ON ANNIVERSARY

LD202046 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Jan 81

[Excerpt] The CPCZ Central Committee has sent a letter of greetings to the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party on its 60th anniversary.

BRIEFS

EXCHANGES WITH INDIA--A program of cultural and educational exchange between the CSSR and India in 1981-83 was signed on 16 January in Prague, for the purpose of deepening mutual cooperation in the spheres of science, education, culture, film and sport. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 81 p 2 AU] An agreement on cooperation between the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and the CSSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry was signed on 16 January in Delhi. The document is the first of its kind on relations between the CSSR and India, and has unlimited validity. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 81 p 7 AU]

COOPERATION WITH ALGERIA--Algiers, 24 Jan (CTK)--Czechoslovak Minister of Telecommunications Vlastimil Chalupa ended today his four-day official visit to Algeria, and left for home. With his Algerian counterpart who invited him, Abdennour Bekka, he discussed cooperation in telecommunications which is to be expanded. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1722 GMT 24 Jan 81 LD] Prague, 24 Jan (CTK)--Muhamed Hadj Yala, Algerian finance minister, ended today his visit to Czechoslovakia, at the invitation of Finance Minister Leopold Ler, during which he had talks here on possibilities of wider Czechoslovak-Algerian economic cooperation. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1710 GMT 24 Jan 81 LD]

SLOVAK ALOCHOL CONSUMPTION--According to statistical data available, Slovaks consume about Kcs10 billion worth of alcohol annually. This figure does not include alcoholic drinks purchased in the Tuzex shops and privately distilled alcoholic beverages. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Jan 81 p 4 AU]

STATISTICS ON DISABLED--The CSSR has 920,000 permanently physically disabled citizens, of which 261,000 are working. [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 16 Jan 81 p 1 AU]

FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS MOSCOW, MEETS GROMYKO

Talks With Gromyko

LD271620 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1253 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (ADN)-- GDR and Soviet Foreign Ministers Oskar Fischer and Andrey Gromyko held talks today in Moscow. They discussed questions of relations between the two states and topical international problems.

During the day the ministers signed the plan for cultural and scientific cooperation between the GDR and Soviet Union for the 1981-85 period. Present at the signing were GDR Ambassador to the USSR Dr Egon Winkelmann, and Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Petr Abrasimov.

Afterwards Andrey Gromyko gave a luncheon for his GDR guest. Oskar Fischer and Andrey Gromyko made speeches praising the close friendship and diverse cooperation between the two states.

Moscow Interview

DW271814 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1649 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Reporter Werner (Schugalla) interview with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer prior to the latter's departure from Moscow--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Foreign Minister, prior to the 10th SED Congress and the 26th CPSU Congress, how is the present state of bilateral relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union?

[Answer] The state of relations between the GDR and the USSR is in accordance with the programs and resolutions adopted by the two workers parties. In addition, these relations fulfill the treaty on friendship, cooperation and assistance signed by Comrades Erich Honecker and Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev on 7 October 1975. On the eve of the two party congresses it also is important for both sides to have come to the conclusion that their bilateral relations have reached a high level.

[Question] You signed a plan today on cultural and scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union until 1985. What important do you attach to this agreement?

[Answer] I just told your Soviet colleagues that--to mention but two examples--direct contacts are cultivated between 60 universities and advanced schools. The same holds true for 40 theaters. The plan we signed today is effective until 1985. I mention these two examples to give you some idea of the diversity that will characterize life in this field.

[Question] As regards the international situation, what conclusions have you reached in your talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko?

[Answer] In this respect, too, both sides hold identical views. Due to NATO's course of stepping up armament the international situation has become aggravated. Let me draw your attention to the Brussels missile decision. As you know, for a long time our party has stressed that this may change the international situation (?considerably), and that is what has happened now. But both sides also emphasized their view that it is possible, through the peace policy of the socialist countries united with all peace-loving forces in the world, to put an end to and counteract the course of confrontation pursued by NATO.

POLISH NEWSPAPER READERS COMMENTS ON STRIKES CITED

LD271550 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (ADN)--Readers' letters, published in TRYBUNA LUDU on Monday, express the growing concern about Poland's future. D. Chorkowski from Krosno, who first condemns the attempts by certain Solidarity circles to blackmail the government, writes:

"Nowadays, anyone who wants to strike does so when and how he wants. There are occupation strikes, token strikes and general strikes. Even the workers in a capitalist country do not have such a choice. Some people think that a strike is better than Christmas because one has neither to go church nor to work and one is paid as if for annual leave. Young people even say that a "disco circus" like this is necessary from time to time.

Today, after several months of socioeconomic and political confusion, I no longer have any doubts that the trade unionists of Solidarity are not in the least concerned with improving the country's economic situation, with making the new life and social atmosphere easier for everyone. On the contrary: Unlawful activities in Wroclaw, Radom, Krosno, Ustrzyki and Nowy Sacz demonstrate that these irresponsible people are stretching things to the limit. I would also like to ask: How far do they want to go? Why do the main organs of Solidarity continue to remain silent, they who best know the country's situation because they are so often in contact with central state organs, and why are they driving the Polish people into the abyss, to catastrophe. This is something the ordinary worker can have no idea about and Mr Walesa does not wish to enlighten him. If one takes into account everything that is happening, I believe it is high time that, after the shock suffered over the past few months, our state power came to its senses and began, as the true, authentic power of the Polish people, to make itself responsible for the well-being of the whole nation, to represent its opinion, and not to give in to all demands, and--without having to be pressured by anyone--to put into practice the just demands of the working people faithfully and gradually in accordance with the available means and possibilities.

Just for the sake of peace one must not promise what is not possible and thus disappoint people. One must finally dare to say "no" when the occasion warrants it.

Stanislaw Michalewicz, major of the reserves, writes in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, the Army newspaper: "At this moment, the need to secure order and discipline and regular, efficient work lies in the interests of all honest people. Only they can fill the empty shelves in the shops. Only through work can we get more apartments, machines for agriculture, nursery schools, hospitals and medicines."

A commentary in the paper states: "For soldiers in the Polish People's Army, whose daily duty in awareness of our patriotic duty is to be unceasingly vigilant in protecting the security of the socialist fatherland and its vital interests, it is not and cannot be a matter of indifference that chaos and economic destabilization are directly jeopardizing the foundations of our country's defense capability. Chaos and economic instability must not be allowed to have a detrimental effect on the prestige of our state. They must not shake our loyalty to the alliance. For soldiers, these are truths which go without saying."

FRG REPRESENTATIVE WEST BERLIN APPOINTMENT NOTED

AU272104 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 81 p 2

[ADN report: "Gaus No Longer Head of the Permanent Representation"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)--A Bonn government spokesman stated that with his election as senator for science and research in West Berlin, Guenter Gaus has concluded his activities as head of the permanent FRG representation in the GDR. Ministry Counselor Hans-Peter Hellbeck has assumed leadership of the permanent representation as charge d'affaires until Gaus' successor, Klaus Boelling, is accredited. Boelling is to assume his post on 1 February.

In an interview, Guenter Gaus replied to a question that he is a West Berlin senator for science and research, with all the pertinent legal obligations. He resigned from the leadership of the permanent GDR representation on Thursday. He will assume his work as senator at the beginning of February to be able in the coming week--without being head of the permanent representation--"to pay the still necessary and also politically interesting farewell visits in the GDR."

DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES ARMY PARTY CONFERENCE

AU272207 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Jan 81 p 3

[Dietmar Jammer, Rainer Funke report: "Heinz Hoffmann Visits the Comrades of the Land Forces; Higher Demands on the Army Communists"]

[Summary] "At their delegates' conference, which was attended by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister, and Guenter John, first secretary of the Potsdam SED Bezirk leadership, the Land Forces of the National People's Army [NVA] were able to draw up a good balance sheet." At the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuver, troops and staffs proved their high combat value. "Side by side with their comrades in arms, they displayed the cohesion of the military collectives and their ability to carry out precisely coordinated combat actions. This was noted in the report of the Secretariat of the Political Administration, read by Lt Gen Werner Rothe." Soldiers of all components scored good results at tactical exercises and maneuvers. "Many new weapons and devices, structural changes, the transition to a new combat training program and stiffer standards in bringing about combat readiness, as well as the solving of complicated training tasks, have helped to further strengthen the largest NVA component."

Lt Gen Werner Rothe stated that "safeguarding a constant high combat readiness remains the most important party assignment of each communist in the armed forces." The speaker valued the activities of the innovators who last year submitted 6,400 proposals for more effective training, for mastering military technical equipment, and for more economical use of materials and time.

In the constructive debate in which 23 comrades participated, Maj Peter Koehler, secretary of a basic organization of the Fritz Weineck Regiment, reported on how training successes are being helped by the personal example of party members.

Lt Col Manfred Hensel, commander of the Wilhelm Florin Regiment, relate how the company under Snr Lt Uwe Ziegler, which is part of his regiment and has begun a competition, is now being challenged by other units."

Frank Fehr, tank commander in the Paul Hornick Regiment, and NCO trainee Gerald Pufe described how the FDJ initiative "to hit with the first shot" helps to score the best results.

"Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, chief of the land forces, spoke about the interconnection between the state of training and combat readiness.

Lt Gen Guenter Bormann explained how the new quality of comradeship-in-arms relations, which made itself felt at joint field camps of missile troops of the NVA and the Soviet Army, has resulted in higher training results.

"Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann valued the revolutionary spirit of the conference as an expression of the awareness of political responsibility and of the militant atmosphere that determines life in the entire army on the eve of the 10th party congress. Solving complicated military tasks would have been unthinkable without the political understanding, personal readiness for action and united efforts of thousands of soldiers, NCO's and civilian employees, of hundreds of ensigns and officers. The expectations of the party of the workers class and of our socialist comrades in arms have been fully and entirely fulfilled. The share of the land forces and of their party organization in this result is considerable, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann stated.

"This fact has also been reaffirmed in the armed forces, as in all sectors of our society: A rapid performance increase and above average growth rates under socialism are being achieved at those times and places where the state leaders and party organizations exercise a purposeful leadership and organize things wisely, where communists proceed with an exemplary commitment and where a relationship of close confidence exists between the party and people.

"Higher demands will be levied on the armed forces in the future, Heinz Hoffmann stressed. This results on the one hand from the military safeguarding our economic and sociopolitical aims, as well as from the thunderous entry of science and technology into all spheres of life. On the other hand, aggressive imperialist quarters have exacerbated the military political situation, have fanned the arms race, and have switched to preparing for another new large scale political attack against socialism. All this constitutes an occasion for even more emphatically posing the question about the responsibility and example of communists in the armed forces, he said."

COMMENTATOR VIEWS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS, SUCCESSES

DW271529 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1005 GMT on 25 January 1981 carries Dr Karl-Heinz Gerstner's "Sunday Economic Review" in which he discusses efforts by GDR workers to achieve a 1-day production lead before the 10th SED Congress, in honor of the forthcoming congress.

Discussing achievements of individual plants, Gerstner singles out the "Robotron plant in Radeberg where the first production models of the new electronic microprocessor K 16-20 are being put out. This microprocessor is half as small as the former microprocessor and consumes 60 percent less energy," he says. Gerstner goes on to say that "the new microprocessor was actually scheduled to be introduced in the summer, but the assembly workers and skilled workers of the Robotron Radeberg plant had the ambition to make the top product of electronic data processing available to the national economy on the occasion of the 10th party congress. Robotron is making an outstanding contribution to consumer goods production. By the end of 1980, Robotron had produced 350,000 portable television sets and 1.2 million mono and stereo radio sets. This year the serial production of the hi-fi stereo receiver 5001 will begin," says Gerstner.

Commenting on the Ruhla watch plant, Gerstner says that "seven automatic machines built in the plant for the production of quartz watch cases were put into operation last week. They were put into operation earlier than scheduled as a party congress objective."

Gerstner goes on to say: "At the Berlin-Schoeneweide station the first automatic ticket dispensers have been set up. The Berlin stations will receive 30 such automatic dispensers before the 10th party congress."

As regards the many projects of the metallurgical industry, Gerstner points out that "the workers of the Hettstedt steel rolling mill have made preparations to increase the production of copper pipes with a wall thickness under 1 millimeter by 61 percent this year. Copper wire production with measurements of 0.07 through 0.15 millimeters will increase by 35 percent. The production of the thinnest measurements means for the overall production of copper wires an additional output of 271,000 kilometers with the same quantity of material."

Gerstner notes: "These, dear listeners, are the results we need in order to make better use of the raw materials available to us."

Commenting on international competition, Gerstner points out: "Many of our machines as well as the products of the metal-processing industry are still too heavy by international standards. The bulk performance ratio of our industry's main products lies an average of 15 percent above comparable products of other highly developed industrial countries. So we still have great opportunities for putting out more final products with our raw materials."

Touching on steel production, Gerstner says: "Last year we produced more than 8 million tons of steel and consumed about 11 million tons. So we produce most of the steel used in the GDR ourselves. Revolutionary changes have taken place in past years in steel production technology. I just want to mention the oxygen blast furnace, the smelting in highly efficient power furnaces, tong metallurgy and continuous casting. The traditional Siemens-Martin furnaces lose more and more importance in view of all this. More such modern production methods will be introduced in GDR steel production in the years to come, including the converter steel plant to be built for us by the firm Voest-Alpine Austria in Eisenhuettenstadt."

Gerstner goes on to say: "Naturally the modernization of such an industrial branch as metallurgy is connected with considerable investments. But we must make these means available in order to make more of the raw materials available to us. The plasma furnace belongs to the new methods. For the first time in the world fine steel was produced in Freital GDR through plasma smelting. A considerable quality improvement was achieved compared with conventional electric smelting. At present 50 robots work in the metallurgical industry and 75 microprocessors make production more effective. By 1985 there will be 500 robots and 100 installations equipped with microprocessors so that 2,000 to 3,000 workers can be spared for other tasks.

Commenting on the electrification of the railway network, Gerstner points out: "The price of diesel, oil, naturally increased very much in past years so that costs involved in operating diesel-powered locomotives increased continuously compared with electrical-powered locomotives. The ratio of costs today is one to three to the advantage of the electrical-powered locomotive. Today electricity is by far the cheapest and most rational power source for the railway. Therefore we plan to electrify not less than 730 kilometers of the railway network by 1985. In order to achieve this we must increase the speed of electrification work threefold in the coming years. At present 12 percent of the GDR railway network has been electrified. This has enabled 20 percent of the individual trips to be handled by electric locomotives. By 1985 we want to reach 30 percent. This will be the biggest rationalization project of our transport system in the years to come. Its implementation will as a whole increase the effectiveness of our national economy."

As regards railway connections with Czechoslovakia, Gerstner says that a stretch between the GDR and the CSSR border must be still operated by diesel locomotives because of the different electrical systems of the two railways.

"It has been decided to construct electric locomotives together, two-system electric locomotives able to be operated under both power systems, so that the border line can be operated electrically without interruption," Gerstner says.

Last week a GDR-built workshop was put into operation in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam, a workshop for the production of textile industry spare parts, particularly spindles. Gerstner says: "It is the 100th workshop built by the GDR in Vietnam in past years. There are 60 repair shops and 39 workshops. These artisan shops contribute toward better supplying the people with services and consumer goods. Since 1973 contributions from the GDR populace amounting to M43 million have been made available for building these workshops in Vietnam. Some 500 artisans from art[illegible]n producer cooperatives as well as private artisans have spent several months in Vietnam to set up these workshops and train the Vietnamese workers. The GDR artisans showed great activity for this good cause," Gerstner concludes.

MINISTER NOTES HEADWAY IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

DW271311 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1507 GMT on 23 January continues its series of listeners forums with Heinz Kuhrig, GDR minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs.

The program moderator opens the forum by asking the minister about his sphere of responsibility. Kuhrig says that the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs is not only responsible for the primary production of agricultural products, but also for the "first processing stage" of various agricultural products such as sugar beets, or the processing of potatoes to starch. In the field of livestock production the ministry, Kuhrig adds, is responsible for "the entire sphere," that is, from animal breeding to the "turnover of the meat to the trade sector." What must not be forgotten, however, Kuhrig goes on to say, is the "vast field of forestry" involving about "1 million working people."

The per capita agricultural area in the GDR, Minister Kuhrig reports, "including all infants," amounts to about one-third of a hectare, "0.37 hectares, to be exact." This is the approximate equivalent of the area of a soccerfield, he says. The GDR, Kuhrig notes, is one of the countries having the smallest per capita agricultural area. "The United States, for example, has a per capita agricultural area of 2 hectares," just to show the difference, the minister notes. What other countries achieve with more arable land, the GDR must accomplish with "greater intensification of agriculture," Minister Kuhrig points out.

(Ingelore Beyer) of Erfurt-Nord wonders what GDR agriculture must produce daily to feed the country's people. Kuhrig provides the following figures: "Well, as far as we are concerned these are standing quantities which we must provide each day. In slaughter pigs this come to more than 4,000 tons a day, 34,500 pigs that must be slaughtered each day, to be exact, and made available for supplies. In the case of slaughter cattle the figure is more than 18,000 tons, or in concrete terms, 4,600 head of cattle to be slaughtered daily. When it comes to milk we have to supply 19,000 tons a day with a fat content of 4 percent. And unless we supply 14 billion eggs, pardon me, 14 million eggs a day the supply for the following day would not be guaranteed. The supply quantity for potatoes must also be no less than 8,000 tons a day; the corresponding figures for vegetables and fruit are 4,500 and 4,000 tons respectively." So, the minister adds, there just "is not anything that we could postpone until the next day."

Asked whether the grain grown in the GDR is sufficient for consumer supplies, Minister Kuhrig draws attention to the fact that grain is an extremely important crop which largely determines the food supply.

Only one-fourth of the grain we use goes to supply the consumer. Three-fourths is needed for coping with the great demand for livestock products", says Kuhrig. To show what great headway the GDR has made in grain production, Kuhrig states that "since the seventies, that is to say, within one decade, we produced roughly 25 million tons of grain more than in the sixties. This is an increase of 39 percent. Though this is a gigantic increase, I cannot but reaffirm here once again that this is not sufficient for producing with our agricultural area the required quantity of grain even though we already cultivate grain on 50 percent plus of our arable land. The fulfillment and overfulfillment of planned yields notwithstanding, some of the required grain must still be imported", says the minister. Kuhrig adds that efforts toward reducing this "expenditure" on grain imports must be made now, and they will continue to be necessary in the coming years as well.

Hermann (Kroenert) of Springer Strasse in Leipzig wonders whether the GDR will hold an agricultural exhibition again this year and whether foreign exhibitors will participate. Minister Kuhrig replies that this year's agricultural exhibition "Agra" will be held from 20 June to 12 July. The exhibition will be with "participation of the CEMA countries", that is to say, an exhibition "with international participation such as we hold every 5 years", Kuhrig states.

As for the stock of horses in the GDR, the minister points out that while the GDR in 1952 had a stock of over 750,000 horses, this has dropped to the present level of 66,000. The trend in the "use of horses" is toward "sports and pastime", the minister says. It goes without saying that horses are still used in forestry for moving timber in mountainous regions, and this surely will remain true for some time yet, he says.

Renate (Ohlerich) of Neubrandenburg points out that construction is underway everywhere, and that available land including arable land is being used quite "generously". Can the GDR afford this at all, she asks.

Minister Kuhrig says that the answer is strictly "no" when it comes to whether or not the GDR can afford to use land this way, "yet we do not have any alternative other than to release arable land to a certain extent for economically necessary or justifiable construction jobs or for the purpose of soft coal extraction, road construction and other requirements", he says. Kuhrig announces that the GDR Council of Ministers will promulgate a new land utilization ordinance presumably late next month whose provisions and stipulations will be designed to keep the reduction in arable land as small as possible. After all, the minister adds, "more than 220,000 hectares of arable land have been taken away from agricultural production, the equivalent of the area covered by Gera Bezirk". The "land withdrawal rate" at present is still above "what we wish and what presumably is absolutely necessary economically."

Inge (Heuer) of Clausberg inquires about the fields of GDR self-sufficiency. Minister Kuhrig provides the following answer: "We are completely self-sufficient in meat, butter and eggs. In this field we have even become exporters over the years whereas in the late sixties and early seventies we still imported such agricultural products. But as I said, we will have to continue importing grain. It is also inevitable that to a certain extent we will have to import fruit and vegetables, especially in the seasons of the year when they are needed but not available. So we will have certain necessary imports in this field as well which requires us to be careful in the future. This means fodder imports in any case, and also imports of protein which we cannot produce in our country in quantities required for livestock production."

Having reassured a listener that the GDR's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs is endeavoring to keep vegetable transport routes as short as possible, always under the proviso that climatic production conditions so permit, Minister Kuhrig expresses the "wish that the villages increasingly--and I would like to repeat--supply themselves with begetables on their own," adding that there is definitely some arable land left in the villages that could be used for such vegetable production, "say between the stables," and so forth.

Discussing GDR forestry in reply to several questions, Minister Kuhrig reports that the plan provides for the production of more than 10 million cubic meters of timber. "This also is approximately the quantity which will have to be produced in the coming years," he says. The efficiency of GDR forestry has been enhanced indeed, Minister Kuhrig notes, saying that his branch's production capacity has "doubled in the past 10 years."

Several listeners ask about the storm damage to GDR forestry and "to what extent the breakage of April has been processed." Storm damage to forests, says Minister Kuhrig, really constitutes a serious economic problem. It is generally known that last spring we had "about 7 million cubic meters of storm and snow breakage." So far 2.6 million square meters of damaged wood have been processed, the equivalent of 37 percent, "yet the huge mountain of 4.4 million cubic meters still (?has to be handled) in 1981." Kuhrig in this context voices the "expectation" that the people, administrative personnel, and personnel from other branches of the economy, the armed organs and the Free German Youth will again help. The bezirke that were hit hardest, Kuhrig points out, were those of Karl-Marx-Stadt, Gera and Dresden. Owing to the danger to hikers in forests caused by falling tree tops and so forth, the minister says, some of the forests must still be kept off limits for recreation. The more help the forestry branch gets from the people in doing away with the damage the sooner the forests will be available for recreation.

Several listeners, the moderator tells the minister, are interested in the technical equipment available to GDR agriculture and wonder whether the GDR's agriculture could be considered modern.

Minister Kuhrig declares that "we definitely have a modern agriculture, and if we take the horsepower per 100 hectare ratio or the degree of mechanization for the major crops of agriculture--including even for sectors such as vegetable production which are hard to mechanize--we can clearly say that we are an agriculture equipped with modern technical equipment which is also aimed at compensating for the considerable decrease in agricultural labor." Still, not everything has as yet reached a degree of equipment that would meet the satisfaction of the LPG peasants and farmworkers in both vegetable and livestock production, says Kuhrig. "Surely the LPG peasants and farmworkers desire additional equipment for loading and unloading chores, for the grain harvest and for the straw collection. In livestock production our LPG peasants increasingly wish to be equipped with safe machinery for use in this area, because the tractor used to this end, the RD-09 tractor, is relatively obsolete and its production was discontinued years ago." In the meantime efforts are also being made to cover this demand through imports from "our socialist neighbor countries," Kuhrig says. Nevertheless the required labor input in the near future will still be considerable, he notes. The work that is being done in the GDR to make more and better equipment available is also aimed at "making our harvesting machines more reliable under existing conditions, under very adverse weather conditions, particularly in the root-crop harvest and, which is even more complicated as shown by the experiences of the past few years, in the sugar beet harvest." What is also desirable, the minister adds, is tractors with less fuel consumption so as to help reduce energy requirements.

This, the moderator says, provides the cue for the next topic, namely, energy. Replying to questions collectively posed by the program moderator, Minister Kuhrig states that jointly with the energy sector, agriculture has been seeking maximum austerity in primary energy sources and the "opening and utilization of alternative energy sources. This goes as far as the utilization of stable waste heat, solar energy, biogas extraction and the application of heat pumps," says Kuhrig.

Efforts along these lines also include the utilization of the "waste heat of powerplants for heating hothouses and for fish breeding," says the minister. To show the advantage of such heat utilization, Kuhrig takes note of the following: The production of 1 kilogram of tomatoes in a hothouse requires 10 kilograms of briquettes; the corresponding figure for 1 kilogramm of cucumbers is 6 kilograms of briquettes. This is why an experimental station was set up at Regis, Leipzig Bezirk, for "heating a hothouse with vapor heat, that is to say, with the waste heat of briquette products, an installation that has been in operation since 1977."

The minister adds that his branch also pursues the "dual utilization of the steam produced in power plants. Thus, preconditions have been created for utilizing heat energy from the power plants at Vockerode on the Elve River, Luebbenau and Vetschau for heating hothouses for the sow breeding facility at Burnitz, apart from other installations requiring such heat. And on the whole we will further increase the current level of 300,000 square meters of hothouse space heated with such powerplant heat since this tends to reduce heating costs considerably." After all, even these 300,000 square meters of hothouse space thus heated amount to a saving of 100,000 tons of soft coal a year, Kuhrig says; he adds in concluding the energy topic that efforts will also be made to utilize and store the heat incidental to the refrigeration of milk, for instance.

Sieghard (Schroeder) of Neuruppin draws attention to GDR forestry again and asks the minister what the total forest acreage of the GDR is. Minister Kuhrig replies that it comes to "nearly 3 million hectares or, to be exact, 2.95 million hectares."

Minister Kuhrig then proceeds to answer a listener's question about sheep breeding in the GDR, saying that "we continue to be very much interested in the further development of sheep breeding." While the number of sheep in the GDR came to only 1,085,000 in 1950, the stock of sheep now is 2,060,000 as required by the 1981 plan, which definitely will be fulfilled he says. The GDR, the minister adds, encourages sheep breeding by offering, for instance, a good price for the wool produced.

Having confirmed that the new inland fishing ordinance has now taken effect and that the 1981 plan provides for an increase in inland fishing yields by 2,000 tons, and having outlined for the benefit of young people the vocational options offered by the sphere of responsibility of his ministry, Kuhrig proceeds to answer the last question of the forum which deals with the GDR's domestic production of skins and hides. According to Minister Kuhrig, the GDR increased the production of cowhide by 12 percent under the past 5 year plan, the increase in pigskin amounting even to 20 percent. A primary objective of this production branch is the improvement in quality, he concluded.

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH FRANCE--Michel Freyche, chairman of the mixed French-GDR government commission, has stated that the volume of GDR-French trade will total Fr3.5 billion in 1980. This involves an overall increase of at least 18 percent compared with the previous year. An increase of at least 30 percent is envisaged under the already signed agreements, and the volume of GDR-French trade will total more than Fr4.5 billion in 1981. [East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 9 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH POLAND SIGNED BY MINISTERS

LD272032 Budapest MTI in English 1800 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 27 Jan (MTI)--Deputy Foreign Trade Ministers Janos Vas of Hungary and Wladyslaw Gwiazda of Poland signed the Hungarian-Polish Trade and Payments Protocol for 1981 in Budapest on Tuesday.

The protocol calls for the exchange of goods worth 640 million roubles which is equal to the 1980 value. Mutual deliveries under cooperation accords will continue--these account for one third of the overall bilateral trade. Hungary will export to Poland machine tools, electronical equipment, computer engineering products, instruments, buses and vehicle components. The major items on the Hungarian import list will be machine tools, mining machines, road vehicles and their components manufactured under various cooperation deals. Both sides will make efforts to keep close to the quantity of the previous years the deliveries of energy carriers and staple raw materials. They will continue the deliveries of metallurgical products, artificial fibre, rubber products, pharmaceuticals and plant protectives as stipulated in the relative cooperation accords. The protocol also calls for the continuous supply by each side of foodstuffs and consumer durables. Hungary will, for example, import considerable quantities of table salt, beer, cosmetics, telecommunications devices, cars, vacuum cleaners, sewing machines, electric boilers for which it will pay in canned food, wine, shoes, furniture, household machines and textiles.

Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Polish Minister of foreign trade and marine economy, left Hungary for home after having signed the protocol.

PARTY SENDS GREETINGS TO ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

LD271527 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 22 Jan 81 p 8

[Report on Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) message to Italian Communist Party on its 60th anniversary]

[Text] "Dear comrades," the MSZMP Central Committee has written, "the MSZMP Central Committee sends you its fraternal greetings on the 60th anniversary of your party's foundation. The Hungarian communists pay homage to the fraternal PCI, which during its decades of history has fought, even at the expense of great sacrifices, against fascist oppression and capitalist exploitation. By organizing the resistance and, after the liberation, the masses struggles, your party earned imperishable merit in the realization of Italy's democratic constitutional order, in the attainment of gains to the benefit of the Italian working class and working people and in the international cohesion of the forces fighting for social progress, socialism and peace. We support you in the struggle that you are tenaciously waging to repel reactionary and neofascist aspirations and to facilitate in Italy broad and active cooperation among the progressive and peace-loving forces. Relations between our parties are governed by internationalist cooperation at the service of fundamentally shared ideals and objectives. On this important anniversary we wish you major successes in your struggles for the country's democratic regeneration and for the universal cause of socialism, peace and international security."

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ASSEMBLY MEETS IN BUDAPEST

Chamber President Speaks

LD272200 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Budapest, 27 Jan (MTI)--The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce held its 6th general assembly on Tuesday in Budapest with the participation of representatives from nearly 500 member companies.

The conference was attended by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and secretary of the Central Committee, and Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers.

In his contribution the president of the Chamber of Commerce said, among other things: "Modernization of Hungarian economic direction, and within this industrial direction, reckons in a greater degree than so far with company independence, the closer cooperation between the branches, the interest mediator and harmonizing function of the chamber, which is very suitable for strengthening and expanding relations."

The chamber is an independent social organization in such a degree as its member companies are independent, as they accept a greater responsibility than before for their own economy. The possibilities for this are given, and it rests with the companies to live with these. The chamber provides every assistance to the companies for this. After this the president referred to the fact that the independence of the chamber cannot mean independence from the nation's economic, political and social relations. Its work and entire activity rests on the same principles which determine Hungarian economy's road of development and aims.

Participation of the chamber considerably promoted establishing and deepening the international relations of Hungarian companies, although not all the possibilities have been made use of in this field. The expanding possibilities of the chamber make possible further progress in this field as well.

"It follows from the aims of the five-year plan beginning now that the chamber has to fulfil both its traditional and new tasks on a high standard, constantly renewing its methods and adapting its work-style to the requirements. It can best assist in this way the independent, successful operation of the companies, strengthening mutual trust and cooperation between the economic guidance organs and the company leaders", said the president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce in conclusion.

Havasi Greets Assembly

LD272212 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce held its sixth general assembly in Budapest today.

It was said many times today that there is a need for honest speaking. Let us not cry on each other's shoulders, together with the leaders of the managing organs, one speaker said, but let us and them openly tell each other what the possibilities and tasks are.

This openness is practiced by Ferenc Havasi, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, who greeted the general assembly on behalf of the party Central Committee and the government and unequivocally outlined what is frequently missing from the plans of enterprises where one should think with more foresight, plan with more courage and build more on one's own strength than on state aid which, for that matter without any foundation, is expected.

WALESA VISITS RZESZOW, MEETS LOCAL SOLIDARITY LEADERS

AFP Report

NC271421 Paris AFP in English 1349 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (AFP)--Lech Walesa, leader of the independent trade union federation Solidarity today visited Rzeszow, near Poland's frontier with the Soviet Union, where a strike has been called for tomorrow in a bid to obtain government recognition of the union's regional agricultural section.

For three weeks several hundred members of Rural Solidarity in Rzeszow have been holding a sit-in at the former headquarters of the official communist party trade union to protest at the government's witholding official recognition. They warned that unless the authorities send a delegation to negotiate with them, their comrades in several big factories in the area will stage a sympathy strike tomorrow of indefinite duration.

Mr Walesa and a group of officials from Solidarity headquarters will be in Rzeszow until Thursday, ostensibly to study the situation. It is understood, however, that they will try to dampen down the tension in this sensitive area, less then 60 kms (35 miles) from both the Soviet and Czechoslovak frontiers.

Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk indicated yesterday that the next weekly meeting of the union's National Coordinating Commission will convene in Rzeszow on Wednesday.

Discussion of Free Saturdays

LD272340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] The chairman of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity, Lech Walesa, stayed at the Rzeszow factory of transportation equipment yesterday [27 January]. He met the representatives of various branches of Solidarity. The subject of their talks was, among other things, the problems of free Saturdays. Lech Walesa also met representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity from Rzeszow and farmers from Rzeszow and other voivodships. Problems of rural society were discussed. The chairman of NSZZ Solidarity also replied to questions related to his Italian visit.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON STRIKES, PROTEST ACTIONS

Bielsko-Biala Actions

LD271902 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Excerpt] In accordance with previous decisions, the Interfactory Strike Committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity in Podbeskidy region called a sit-in strike in Bielsko-Biala at 0600 this morning. The strike was held at 110 enterprises and economic units of the Bielsko-Biala Voivodship.

During the first shift the Andrychow enterprises, affiliated to Solidarity in Malopolska region, worked normally. In Zywiec, the services and enterprises supplying the region with food, water, gas, electric power and heating as well as the local fur enterprises and breweries were operating normally. The stoppage of municipal and intercity transport is felt most acutely by the population of Bielsko-Biala Voidvodship.

After the Interfactory Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity was transformed yesterday into the Interfactory Strike Committee of the Podbeskidy region in Bielsko-Biala, a meeting of its Presidium with the members of the Secretariat of the party voivodship committee was held yesterday evening at the initiative of this Secretariat. It was decided that at this meeting the party voivodship committee would present proposals to resolve the existing situation.

The Interfactory Strike Committee demands that censure against some members of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship authorities be examined.

Bielsko-Biala Strike Continues

LD280838 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] According to a dispatch from our Katowice correspondent, the occupation strike is continuing in Bielsko-Biala Voivodship. All work enterprises and institutions are on strike.

At the temporary headquarters of the Interfactory Strike Committee at the wool industry works Bawelana in Bielsko-Biala, representatives of 54 chosen workforces of the voivodship and representatives of the founding committees from Zywiec, Skoczow and Oswiecim are awaiting the arrival of the government commission to hold talks.

Services and enterprises which are essential for providing food, water, power and heating are working, as well as the property protection services, telecommunications, health services, railroads and the workers in enterprises which normally work 24 hours a day. Transportation other than railroads are not working.

Strikes For Media Access

LD271736 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Strikes took place yet again today in some regions of Poland. In Bielsko Biala those not working included the municipal bus transportation services and stores observed irregular opening times. Only the workforces of enterprises which normally work 24 hours a day and enterprises which are essential to serving the population and the health service and railroads worked as usual.

Warning strikes were held in Bialystok and Lomza Voivodships. The Interfactory Founding Committee of the Solidarity branch in Bialystok demands, above all, that censorship issues be settled and that printing of the trade union bulletin be resumed.

Work enterprises in Zdunska Wola were on strike from 0900 through 1200. They included the [name indistinct] knitwear factory. Losses are estimated to be Z800,000. The aim of the strike, according to Solidarity, is to demand the implementation of the agreements made in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie. In particular the issue, as is emphasized by Solidarity, is to ensure that the union has access to the mass media.

Anxiety, Tension Noted

LD271948 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Excerpt] An atmosphere of enxiety and tension is being maintained in some centers in the country. Today, at the call of regional links of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity, workforces in several voivodships went on strike or took up other protest actions. As the cause of the strike, Solidarity claims that the agreement from the coast and Jastrzebie has not been fully implemented.

In Silesia and the Basin 120 work enterprises went on strike. Today, the first shift in coalmines extracted only 120,000 tons of coal, 40,000 less than normal. Workforces from some steelworks, institutes and other enterprises have also joined the strike.

In the Bialystok Voivodship the strike lasted 4 hours. Ninety enterprises stopped work, including the very large ones such as the Fasty cotton mill and the Zierzan factory. Municipal transportation was also on strike. Protest action and a strike alert were conducted in Jelenia Gora. Workforces in Piotrkow Voivodship have joined the warning strike. In Radomsk, work stopped in some enterprises from 1 to 4 hours. All enterprises of the Belchatow-Pomorze power station construction combine went on strike.

In Bielsko Biala a general sit-in strike was declared. It encompassed about 110 enterprises, including Befama, the (FSM) works in Bielsko Biala, and the Celma plant in Cieszyn.

Lodz Warning Strike

LD271732 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] A 3-hour warning strike started in Lodz at 0900 today. Nearly all of the larger enterprises of the town stopped work. Stoppages occurred, among others, at the Marchlewski, Dzierzynski, Defenders of Peace, People's Army and Harnama cotton industry works. In the wool industry branch, the following works ceased operation, along with others. The Ninth of May, Niedzielski and the Spring of People's Works. In the silk and decoration industry, machines stopped for 3 hours at the First Rudzka, (Artal), Lenka and Lenora works, among other places. Also idle was the greater part of the knitting and clothing industry works and, among others, the Iwona, Pruchnik and [name indistinct] works.

Construction workers--both those working on housing projects and those working on industrial projects--also downed tools at 0900. The streetcars and buses of the municipal transportation service remained idle until 1000, that is, for 1 hour.

Sieradz Strike Situation

LD271742 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Here is a dispatch from our Sieradz correspondent, Jerzy Witaszczyk:

Today, from 0900 till 1200, 13 of the large [word indistinct] work enterprises went on strike. These were mainly production enterprises, of which the largest employs over 2,000 people. Eight other enterprises and institutions remained on strike alert during that period. For instance, the Polish Savings Bank only served those customers whose affairs were considered very urgent. The strike was announced by the municipal coordinating committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity, which on the 26th of this month was converted into an Interfactory Coordinating Committee of Lodz region.

The strike involved about 10,000 people. The reason: Dissatsfaction with too slow or improper implementation of the Gdansk agreements.

Starting tomorrow, according to an announcement by the Interfactory Coordinating Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Sieradz region, a strike alert will begin in Sieradz Voivodship.

Various 27 Jan Strikes

LD272256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2030 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] An atmosphere of unease and tension continues in some parts of the country. Responding to regional branches of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity the workforces went on strike in several voivodships or embarked on other kinds of protest actions. Solidarity justifies this strike with the charge of incomplete implementation of the agreements signed on the coast and in Jastrzebie. On the basis of decisions adopted by the NSZZ Solidarity organizations, belonging to the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] Jastrzebie, MKZ Katowice and MKZ Bytom a 4-hour strike was held today in several scores enterprises in the Katowice Voivodship.

It emerges from preliminary information from the Ministry of Mining that already on the first shift some 120,000 tons of coal were not extracted in the mines. This means 40-45,000 tons less than during the morning shift in the past few days.

Workforces in some iron and steel works, including the Katowice iron and steel works, Baildon and Kosciuszko iron and steel works have joined this strike. On the first shift in the small capacity motor-car factory, Tychy, only half the cars have been assembled. Service areas operated without disruption. They demonstrated their support for the action only symbolically.

By virture of a decision adopted by the MKZ Solidarity of Lodz the machines stopped for 3 hours in a majority of industrial enterprises and municipal transportation stopped for an hour. A warning strike was also held by the workforces of the Piotrkow Voivodship which are under Lodz Solidarity. Among others, the strike embraced all enterprises of the Belchatow-Pomorze complex for power station construction.

The Interfactory Strike Committee [MKS] of the NSZZ Solidarity in Bielsko-Biala has proclaimed a general strike in that area, which had the nature of a sit-in strike and encompassed some 110 factories in the Bielsko Voivodship. Services and enterprises supplying the area with food, water, gas and power have been instructed to work. However, the local inhabitants were most inconvenienced by the lack of municipal and intertown transportation. Fourteen industrial enterprises in Zdunska Wola and two in Lask stopped work for 3 hours. Both towns are in the Sieradz Voivodship. During the strike in the furniture factory in Lask a mass meeting was organized. The meeting passed a resolution demanding the speediest possible resumption of talks between the government and Solidarity.

The strike in the Bialystok Voivodship, where more than 90 factories stopped work, lasted for 4 hours. These include the Largest, Fasty, and Sierzan factories. The protest action and the strike alert in the Jelenia Gora Voivodship continues. The 200-strong group of representatives of founding committees and factory committees of NSZZ Solidarity is still in the Gencjana club, awaiting the arrival of the government commission.

A 4-hour between the city and voivodship administrators and representatives of the Presidium of the MKS NSZZ Solidarity in that city, and the Presidium of the Solidarity factory committee in the municipal transportation enterprise took place in Wroclaw. The meeting dealt with the reasons why these enterprises started a strike alert on 26 January. The talks will be continued tomorrow.

More Strikes 28 Jan

LD281146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] Over to our Wroclaw correspondent: Already 6 nights and days have passed since the representatives of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity of Jelenia Gora Voivodship, began their wait at the (?Gencjana) Club for the arrival of a government commission equiped with full powers to sign an agreement. Today, at 1000, a 4-hour warning strike began. The voivoda of Jelenia Gora, at the suggestion of Solidarity, decided to extend the ban on sales of alcohol until further notice. Solidarity's demands were supported by the Democratic Party Voivodship Committee Presidium at its extraordinary session.

Also in Walbrzych Voivodship a 2-hour warning strike began. Its cause: dissatisfaction with the insufficient implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements; the free Saturdays issue; access to the mass media; and 3-year paid maternity leave. The strikes embraced industry, coal mines, construction, transportation and other enterprises.

COMMENTARY ON STRIKES, PROTESTS, FREE SATURDAYS

Paper on Strike Actions

AU271922 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Jan 81 p 2

[Commentary signed "(AP)": "Solidarity and Responsibility"]

[Text] The term solidarity denotes not only the community of aspirations and activities but also responsibility.

Solidarity without responsibility is bad and defective. The Solidarity Presidium of the Mazowsze region issued a communique on 22 January containing this appeal: "On this day (24 January) we are all bound by Solidarity--we will not work."

As a result of the strike, last Friday the elevators in the Palace of Culture and Science went out of action. In a building of that height, such a stoppage constitutes a threat to elementary safety. Some canal workers did not arrive for work, streetcars and buses stayed in their depots, some planes at Okecie Airport were grounded and the intercity telephone exchange went dead. I have intentionally refrained from discussing losses in production plants because what I wish to do is draw attention to the most simple kind of responsibility--responsibility for the safety of human beings and for the city's normal life.

It is being said that the authorities are still without the necessary negotiating skills (as freely admitted by P. Karpiuk, vice minister of labor, wages and social affairs) and, what is just as important, without the skill to provide information. It is no doubt a bad thing that our people have not been able to profit by continual information about the talks with the National Coordinating Committee of Solidarity on the subject of working hours and about all the conditions for a compromise put forward by the commission. But this is not the primary issue now. However severely we may appraise the procedures by which consultations about working hours are held, it is not the power apparatus that is responsible for the fact that last Friday thousands and thousands of women had to walk for miles and miles to open their shops in good time for 11 o'clock sales, that thousands and thousands of children were unable to get their schools and that perhaps someone who wanted to see his dying mother could not fly out of Warsaw because the plane he was going to fly on was grounded.... The primary issue is solidarity in responsibility, in social imagination.

All day long we listened on our editors' telephones to the calls of indignant people who were tired and made nervous by the disorganization of life in Warsaw and who yearned for law and order.

The enterprises that Solidarity in Mazowsze asked to go on strike on Friday included those whose workforces, or sections of them, chose the road of commonsense and continued to work. Did they violate solidarity? Or did they just show a sense of responsibility?

Within the workers class and working people, the term solidarity carries a huge emotional sifnificance. It grew together with the entire history of the workers movement. It grew in the struggle for work, dignity and the right to work and live. But who is it that makes that term a tool of moral terror and political manipulation? Who is it that inevitably takes up positions that the workers class will unmask sooner or later? The sooner the better for all of us, for the self-governing and independent nature of trade unionism, for the reliable implementation of the concluded agreements and for Poland.

I am writing these words on Friday evening and I do not know--nor does anyone throughout the country know--how many workers will obey the call to go on strike on Saturday. No doubt many will and the economy will again suffer losses. This is a difficult situation. However, it is worth realizing that the present dispute about working hours involves just 1 hour a week. On the face of it, one might assume that those are right who say: Let the authorities improve work organization, cooperation and the supply of raw materials and we will easily produce more goods within even a shorter time. However, this is reminiscent of the question of whether one should wash one's right leg or one's left leg, while the country today needs both work in which every hour must count, and healthy, social and Solidarity pressure in every enterprise and branch of industry with a view to eliminating the obstructions that really weaken the results of such work--all obstructions, whoever might be behind them.

Criticism of Lodz Solidarity

AU271905 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-25 Jan 81 p 2

[Commentary signed "(BIE)": "Chasing After Sensation"]

[Text] Perhaps the matter is not worth taking up. Insinuations and untruths do not deserve to be argued about.

But if they are extensively propagated by a bulletin that calls itself "INFORMATION BULLETIN" published by the Interfactory Founding Committee of the Self-Governing, Independent Trade Unions Solidarity of Lodz, and if the case concerns our paper, then, readers, allow me a few words on the subject.

Issue 3/16 of that bulletin, dated 15 January 1981, carries on page 2 a report entitled "Censorship Is Stronger Than Commonsense." The report tells us that the entire edition of TRYBUNA LUDU dated 10-11 January, numbering 1,875,000 copies, was...scrapped for recycling and that our daily had to be printed again.

The authors of the report cited censorship's alleged interference as the reason for the scrapping. Supposedly, censorship wanted to prevent the publication of a declaration made by the National Coordinating Committee of the Solidarity Trade Union of Printing Workers. The declaration stated that all newspapers would appear only 5 times a week because of the shorter working time for printers. The BULLETIN did not mention that the declaration in question (it was actually being prepared for publication on page 1 of TRYBUNA LUDU) was followed by another declaration--the one made by our newsmen who appealed to the readers, to comrades from theprinting arts and to distribution workers to ensure the present frequency with which newspaper information is provided for readers.

The daily was made ready for printing with those two declarations included in it, and even two national centers--Lodz and Krakow--that print TRYBUNA LUDU by way of teletexts began printing the first copies. At that moment it was not the censor, but the factory committee of "Solidarity" in the "House of the Polish Word" that decided not to print its declaration, which made the publishing of our appeal unnecessary.

The decision was made: Stop the Press! As our Lodz printers told us, some 6,000 copies of TRYBUNA LUDU had been printed before the first page had to be changed. However, chasing after sensation, the editors of the Lodz bulletin added their 1.87 million copies to that number and threw in censorship in the bargain to make the case more interesting. The scandal was perfect.

But the question is, which is scandalous? In our view, the scandal is the thoroughly ridiculous and flippant disinformation foisted by the publishers of the BULLETIN of Lodz "Solidarity" on its readers.

'Statemate' Situation

LD271656 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Jacek Kalabinski commentary]

[Text] During these days full of tension, when pressure seems to be gaining momentum, from Monday to Saturday we are all wondering how to find a solution to the situation which, in a game of chess, is referred to as stalemate, a situation in which no one player can attain a clear victory.

The conviction prevails that the government is unable to talk effectively on such issues as the free Saturdays and many other questions, neither with the trade unions nor the community. The government is burdened by old habits where everything was settled by lifting the receiver of the official phone and the community obediently listened to marathon speeches and pretended that it had been convinced.

Now, however, the situation has radically altered and even the marathon litany of negotiations conducted by the government, published during last weekend, is convincing only a few, since no achievement has been reached as regards the most important issues.

The trouble is that the government has its arguments and keeps repeating them but many people do not want to listen to them. How then can the agreement needed by the country be reached?

It appears that two factors are needed. First, a public presentation of the stands of both sides, directly by them and not by enigmatic reports from which it emerges that the attitude of Solidarity is irrational and unjustified. There is loud and ever louder talk about this need--in the resolution of the Polish Writers' Union and in the appeal of the Mine Workers Trade Union, who suggest a public television debate on all controversial issues and not just on free Saturdays.

Second, and this is a prerequisite at least equally important, there is the need for an arbiter who could undertake to carry out arbitration between the unions and the government. It appears that this could be one force, the party, or one institution, the Sejm.

The communique issued after yesterday's Politburo debate contained an assertion that agreement should be arrived at through negotiations. If that is the view held by the party it should be first of all binding for the government, over which the party has political leadership. Consequently it is the government which should, as soon as possible, make every effort to have negotiations resumed. In such a case it would be a moral obligation of the trade unions to express immediate consent to these talks.

Permanent arbitration would be carried out by the Sejm which, as the superior organ of state power, has recently gained a certain amount of social trust. It also has the capacity of making binding decisions, needless to say, only after having heard and examined the reasoning of all sides.

Maybe, this is the way leading to solving the disputes and to settling the stalemate which unnerves the community.

Walesa's 'Moral Dilemma'

LD271908 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1555 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Henryk Lechowski commentary, entitled "Is Walesa Breaking?"]

[Text] Reasoning psychologically, it is possible to see a new quality in the new wave of social unrest which we are experiencing at present. This new quality consists of a sphere of moral struggle by individuals and entire groups of workers. Many people have been suffering recently from a moral hangover which grasps them after every occasion when they have carried out the Solidarity order not to work on Saturday or to engage in a warning strike.

This new psychological condition of Poles, including the inhabitants of Gdansk, Gdynia and Elblag, has its origin in the deeply-rooted human instinct to protect all assets and the sense of responsibility toward common property. In addition, for years, not to work has been a kind of sin. In August, not to work meant to make a revolutionary claim for one's rights [words indistinct]. Even in October and November it meant to tease the authorities about what one was owed.

On the other hand, today it means something quite different. It means to harm oneself. Therefore, when the average honest citizen hears about the losses caused by new work stoppages and strikes, by using simple probability calculations he can work it out for himself. We can understand what internal anxiety is being brought about in him by these facts.

Before us there is another year, not just a difficult one, but a truly dramatic one. We have to live through it. But how, when we are losing additional billions of zloty. Therefore, it is not surprising that many workforces have hit what they think is an idea of genius, to satisfy their radical leaders at the Solidarity central office in Gdansk and at the same time not [word indistinct] the country. In fact, the workforces have suggested to the management that, contrary to the orders of Solidarity activities, they will report for work, but they will not sign in.

That is how it has been done. When the manager has said that he could not pay for work without workers signing in, the delegates of the workforce answered: That is your business and the business of your minister.

These facts make it clear to us that a psychological split has affected the quality of vision and assessment on the part of the original and contemporary Solidarity [word indistinct]. In addition, people simply cannot discard that which is honest, that which forces them to look [word indistinct] at the truly masochistic orders to harm oneself.

I was asked recently at a meeting of a certain working collective whether I think that Lech Walesa is of two minds when he has to make such hard and catastrophic decisions for the country. Do they come very easily for him?

I shall try to answer the question: "Is Walesa of two minds?" on the basis of what is being published by foreign (?media) correspondents. I believe that Walesa is an honest man, full of a particular kind of patriotism, strongly colored with our traditional Polish sort of religiousness. It is probably very difficult for him to sign those appeals for [word indistinct] strikes but he abides by the majority decision once it has been voted. This is not only my personal supposition, but also that of foreign correspondents.

Let me give you some examples: Karl (Gustav Stroehm) writes in the West German DIE WELT, under the headline "Walesa's Dilemma, Inter Alia": The moderate workers' leader Lech Walesa is faced with ever-growing difficulties in those unions in which people who advocate [word indistinct] course come to the fore. NEUE [word indistinct] ZEITUNG writes: Walesa and the trade unions are dominated by radical elements. [Word indistinct] ANZEIGER writes: One has to ask himself the question: Is Solidarity acting responsibly in the present Polish economic crisis? Reasonable Poles are beginning ro realize that such activity is starting to meet with an ever-growing lack of understanding in the West. The British GUARDIAN writes: It appears that Lech Walesa is losing ground as chaos spreads. He was overruled as far as a strike is concerned by [words indistinct] of Solidarity. THE FINANCIAL TIMES, in an article entitled [words indistinct] writes that Solidarity has switched to positions of political action. A delegation of the International Union of Steelworkers [word indistinct] has stated in Geneva that Solidarity is dealing with problems which are not considered trade union problems in the West.

Has Lech Walesa got the situation well in hand? I do not know. But it would appear from these reports by the best informed Western correspondents that Lech Walesa, a moderate man by nature, has found himself in the difficult situation of a moral dilemma: To follow his own conscience or to abide by the decisions of centers which are in greater part more radical. His present behavior shows that for the time being he has chosen the second option.

Lodz Commentary Urges Speed

LD271846 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1540 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Today, a press conference was held at the cotton industry works named after Marchlewski which is the headquarters of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions Solidarity Strike Committee, Lodz region. The conference was attended by Urszula Mikolajczyk, who will now deliver a commentary of the day.

During the negotiations in Gdansk it was said: We are learning to talk, we are learning how to conduct a true and honest dialogue. Both sides--the strikers and representatives of the authorities said this. I have an impression that this learning took a long time. I understand that such knowledge cannot be gained in a day but after all, since August there has been enough time to learn a little. Alas, so far, no significant effects of such an education are to be seen. The so-called ordinary man is feeling temporarily totally confused. The government is stating that it wants to do the best thing for him. The same is said by Solidarity.

An ordinary man does not know which to believe. Sometimes he thinks he cannot afford to stand idle on Saturdays, other times he is told to stand idle because there is no electricity or enough raw material.

An ordinary man wants to work and does not want to spend his life waiting in lines for everything. Most of all, he wants to have a clear picture of tomorrow. It is very difficult to live if things are difficult today but it is incredibly difficult if things are difficult today and tomorrow looks bad too.

How much longer and how often can one strike? How much longer and how often can one listen to the phrase, dialogue is needed, and at the same time see no rational or effective dialogue taking place?

During the government press spokesman's conference a statement was made by one of the journalists: It means that one side is insisting on one thing and the other side on another. There were laughs. Jokes have a lot to do with life. Today, most of the enterprises in Lodz went on strike. There were strikes in Katowice and in Podbeskidy region. Who is next? How much longer? When will the talks bring results in the shape of the quickly implemented and badly needed decisions? The economy cannot wait any longer. The economic and social losses are mounting up in a catastrophic way. What to do? Perhaps speed up the pace of negotiations, their frequency, perhaps make them more concrete? Perhsps the changes should go in a completely different direction--for example, perhaps the participants in the dialogue should be changed?

JASTRZEBIE SOLIDARITY LEADER ON ACCUSATIONS

LD280946 Warsaw PAP in English 0200 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (PAP)--Jaroslaw Sienkiewicz, head of the Interfactory Worker Committee at Solidarnosc Jastrzebie colliery, today gave the Polish news agency PAP an open letter addressed to all members of the Solidarnosc independent trade union.

Replying to charges in a leaflet distributed nationwide recently Mr Sienkiewicz stated: "I've been accused of being a party member and of reaffirming to that in public" which is an "unpardonable error". Signing the statute of Solidarnosc I have determined clearly my apolitical stand and have cared for such a character of the union.

"Willing to retain the apolitical nature of the union and opposing the efforts at political and organizational infiltration of the union, as a 12-year member of the party I was, obviously, an unacceptable person. However, having the good and the need for unity of Solidarnosc I resigned from the position of chairman of the Jastrzebie Interfactory Worker Committee. Several members of the Presidium did the same. But the meeting of January 10 refused to accept the resignations, arguing that the oncoming elections to regional authorities would decide about the union leadership."

Mr Sienkiewicz stated further that actions by various groups closely tied to the workers' Self-Defence Committee KOR have intensified over recent days and brought about the expulsion of several dozen persons, strangely enough only those with PUWP membership, from the Interfactory Worker Committee.

"Moreover," stated Mr Sinenkiewicz, "the meeting which discussed the principles of joint elections with the Katowice Interfactory Worker Committee decided to turn me down already before the elections as a 'discredited' person.

"I address my letter first and foremost to all members of Solidarnosc, asking whether anybody have the right to decide in advance, before the elections. Is our union a platform for private games and political ambitions?

"At present I don't see any possibility for me leading the Interfactory Worker Committee at Jastrzebie. Currently, it departed so far from representing the interests of the crews that it ceased being an honest representation," stated Jarsolaw Sienkiewicz in conclusion.

VETERANS ORGANIZATION CALLS FOR CALM, CAUTION

LD272104 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] A plenary session of the Central Board of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWID] has been held in Warsaw. The deliberations were opened by Wlodzimierz Sokorski, chairman of ZBoWID's central board. Current problems affecting the ex-combatants organization and the tasks facing the union in the country's present sociopolitical situation were discussed. A speech was delivered by Lt Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the ZBoWID Supreme Council.

[Word indistinct] a resolution was adopted in which the union expressed full support for the efforts of the party aimed at finding ways out of the crisis in which our country has found itself. We read in the resolution:

For us, a generation which passed its test during the years of the most difficult test for the nation, the bearer of the traditions of the struggle for progress and democracy, the most important matters are those pertaining to the socialist development of our country and socialist renewal. We are aware that the key issue of the day is to strengthen the feeling of collective and personal responsibility of every Pole for the fate of the country. We need calm, caution and the maintenance of public order. More energetic and consistent activities by organs of the state and party are needed. We categorically reject social demagogy, phenomena of anarchy and the undermining of the foundation of our system.

The plenum of the ZBoWID Central Board appeals to all ex-combatants and all Poles to increase their efforts for the benefit of the great progressive changes in our life and for creating an atmosphere and conditions favorable for strengthening public discipline, law and order, calm, more efficient work, cooperation and joint responsibility.

Moczar Speech to Session

LD272224 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at 27 January plenary session of central board of Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWID] held in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] We support with our full joint (?authority) anything which replaces what is old and impracticable. We support everything progressive and noble which goes halfway to meet the new times. It emerges from what we have been discussing together that we are a considerable moral and driving force in creating and forming an atmosphere of good will in our sociopolitical life, which for many years has been proceeding along the wrong track, as a result of which in the middle of last year the working class expressed its anger on an unprecedented scale.

So far we cannot say that what is new has entered the right track. Difficulties--which are not always necessary and not always irrevocable--are still being created. Unfortunately, however, we have these difficulties and it is this that concerns us in the ZBoWID. This also provides us with duties. It provides us with duties because we participate as an organization which was called into being not by someone around a table but by the biggest or one of the biggest things--by time itself.

Today those who are rushing ahead--and this applies particularly to a nation--must have a definite aim for which they will overcome unforeseen problems visible on the horizon and still hidden beyond the horizon. In order to be able to look to the future precisely in this way we need lots and lots of commonsense, as well as experience. We need commonsense to an immeasurable extent particularly today, to be fully aware that the correct normalization of our sociopolitical life can become an event of great importance.

I recalled at the seventh plenum of the Central Committee that this can be important as a precursor of our times, on condition, however, that the sworn opponents of reality--who can be called this because of their lack of high standards in politics and who in their hatred for socialism consider today that they can disregard time and go straight for the throat [skoczyc do gradla]--cannot be allowed to take part in this normalization of sociopolitical life in our country.

The blindness which has seized the opponents of socialism is so severe that they have rejected ordinary and necessary restaint, which should be indispensable for thinking people at least. A great writer said that some people are shrewd but not shrewd enough to restrain their shrewdness. Such are the enemies of our reality and of our ideal. Personally I know many organizers in the Solidarity movement who are people of great culture and who are exasperated with many members of our party who have justified complaints against them, complaints which are often expressed sharply because it so happened that those people had no moral right to sit at the table as social workers and educators. Many of those who have been removed by the party or expelled were demoralized and had forgotten their roots. At the same time we must not allow such an opinion of party members to be created merely because some people are against the party. If low elements want to take revenge against a decent citizen merely because he is a communist, then he should be defended. A struggle should be declared against social and political fringes, as well as against anyone else.

In the social eruption, which gushes with hope like Karlino oil, we ZBoWID members will participate with all wise people. I stress wise because there is no force which can direct the movement of renewal on the wrong lines.

The seventh Central Committee plenum is against this. We ZBoWID members, who really want to help the most noble ideal of socialism, are against this. The party and we conscious ZBoWID members will do everything to make sure that the renewal which we organize is the renewal that people expect and that it brings with it respect, law and socialism.

The fundamental condition for coming out of the crisis is to restore trust between society and the authorities. This process can continue only in conditions of the development of socialist democracy which guarantees the authentic and real participation of all working people in governing the state, in having a voice in decisions at factories, parishes, towns and villages. This direction in the development of a socialist state stems from the doctrinaire foundations of socialism and from the system of values which forms its bases and which is conditioned by objective social needs of an economic, political and cultural nature.

So we value all aware and honest members and organizers of Solidarity and at the same time we believe that they will serve the good cause, that is, their socialist fatherland.

MOCZAR TRYBUNA LUDU ARTICLE VIEWS PARTY AIMS, ROLE

LD271646 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Recently we celebrated the 39th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish Workers' Party which played a great role in the modern history of our people, writes Mieczyslaw Moczar, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Central Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy in an extensive article dedicated to the Polish Workers' Party, published in TRYBUNA LUDU.

The formation of the Polish Workers' Party was accepted with hostility by Polish right-wing forces. Campaigns aiming at isolating communists from society were organized. Communists were blamed for the fact that the Polish Workers' Party was formed only after Hitler's Germany invaded the USSR. This was to be the alleged evidence that the aims of the party were subordinated to Soviet interests.

The PZPR continues the traditions and aims of the Polish Workers' Party. Today, when, in the conditions of protest of the working class against evil and lawlessness, against violations of the principles of socialism in many spheres of life, we exert every effort to accomplish socialist renewal, that we have to turn to ideological and moral sources of our movement, to draw from them moral and ideological strength. The main treasured thoughts and principles predetermining the direction of the struggle of the Polish working class did not lose their significance or topicality. They are defined by the interests of the working class and the well-being of the Polish people and state.

More on Moczar Article

LD271630 Warsaw PAP in English 1418 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (PAP)--As already reported, TRYBUNA LUDU runs a comprehensive article by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC, reviewing the foundation, programme and accomplishments of the Polish Workers' Party. Below--excerpts of the final passages of the article:

Today, when the working class voices its protest against all evils and injustices, departure from socialist principles in various areas of social life and when a huge process of socialist renewal is under way, it is necessary to reach deeper to the ideological and moral sources of our movement drawing from it moral and ideological strength.

The article continues: Ahead is the Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. In preparation for this event Polish communists are cleansing their ranks fighting consistently for socialist renewal of the social life. The ninth congress will be an extraordinary event in view of the extraordinary occurrences and transformations which have taken place in our state and the life of the nation.

A great revolution in the views, ideas and activity of the popular masses has occurred in Poland. The vehemence of those changes is of a spontaneous character. It may probably be compared only to earthquakes. Obviously, we could have avoided such great social tremors. They had long been forecast by political seismographs. Those signals were ignored and the accumulated conflicts led to a mighty quake. The social masses accept those developments and believe them to be justified. Those who do not accept and understand them are the same people who caused the growth of social protest.

The dilemma confronting us is how to evaluate and approach the phenomena and to decide what our future actions should be in the circumstances. Answers to these questions emerged from the sixth and seventh plenary meetings of the Central Committee proclaiming the general line of actions to overcome the effects of the severe crisis by political measures. The line chosen is right.

Moczar believes that in this great historical renewal of the social life there can be no place for the enemies of socialism who prey on great social movements, seeing them to be the field for their destructive activity.

I also believe that the renewal of personnel must continue. Not only those who out of thoughtlessness or depraved by power sowed destruction and damage around them must leave. Also those who do not understand the new times and the new tasks must change jobs. This cannot be called punishment. It is a necessary change of personnel from less useful to better and more useful. The party must take care also of this problem, drawing on its best traditions. By so doing party organizations will straighten themselves out, stand on their feet and regain strength and confidence.

In the process of socialist renewal we are appealing to the reason of all working people convinced that what they want is a wise, monolithic and morally strong party, such a party is indispensable for the nation and on it depends the future of us all.

KANIA CHAIRS PZPR FIRST SECRETARIES CONFERENCE

LD272342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] A conference of the first secretaries of the party voivodship committee and heads of departments of the PZPR Central Committee chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, was held at the party Central Committee building yesterday [27 Jan]. The social and political situation in the country and topical tasks of party organizations and echelons were discussed during the conference.

PINKOWSKI RECEIVES MOCZAR ZBOWID DELEGATION

LD271940 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Premier Jozef Pinkowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, has received a delegation of the leadership of the veterans movements including Lt Gen Mieczyslaw Moczar, Politburo member, president of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWID]; Lt Gen Mieczyslaw Grudzien, minister of veterans affairs; Wlodzimierz Sokorski, chairman of the ZBoWID Main Administration; and Stanislaw Kujda, general secretary of the Main Administration. The meeting was also attended by the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, Janusz Obodowski. During the meeting the topical problems of veterans were discussed.

Let us recall that beginning 1 January this year all pensions and old-age allowances of the so-called old portfolio were increased by Z500. This also concerns veterans receiving extraordinary allowances or allowances for war injuries. Work continues on a fundamental reform of the pension and old-age allowance system providing among other things for the introduction of a mechanism correcting the level of pensions and old-age allowances in accordance with wage and cost of living increases.

STATE COUNCIL DISCUSSES CRIME, MAKES APPOINTMENTS

AU271427 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The State Council Session"]

[Text] The State Council held a session in the Belweder Palace on 22 January and examined the general prosecutor's report on the 1980 activities of the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic.

The struggle against crimes was marked by new manifestations. Although the total number of crimes in 1980 approximated the number of crimes in 1979 and was almost 29 percent lower than in 1971, the number of certain dangerous crimes such as homicide, robbery with assault and burglaries of private houses increased 18, 13 and 7 percent respectively in 1980. These increases were especially noticeable in the second half of 1980. The number of speculation and road traffic crimes also increased. An increase in aggressive conduct based on glaring contempt for elementary principles of living alongside other people, on greed for profit and on other low motives, was also recorded in the group of crimes directed against life and health.

It was noted that in the complicated situation of 1980 the prosecuting organs consistently implemented activities to ensure law and order within the country, strict observance of the law, and protection of public interests and civic rights, extensively cooperating with other state bodies, including above all people's councils and their committees as well as social organizations.

While prosecuting most energetically the perpetrators of major crimes, the prosecuting organs improved the procedures by which the perpetrators of socially less dangerous crimes can be granted remission. In 1980 41,000 persons were granted conditional remission--7,000 persons or over 15 percent more than in 1979. The number of people temporarily detained went down. In 1980 some 39,616 persons were detained temporarily--7,730 persons fewer than in 1979.

The State Council praised the prosecuting organs activity to protect social property against thefts, mismanagement and waste, to actively combat the basic phenomena that engender crime, such as alcoholism and parasitic existence, and to reduce the reasons for recidivism. The prosecuting organs effectively continued their efforts to safeguard citizens' interests and rights and to provide legal protection for families and young people.

The State Council positively appraised the activities of the prosecutor general and of the prosecutors subordinated to him and asked for efforts to further improve law and order, social discipline and legality. At the same time, it expressed the conviction that the performance of prosecuting organs and other state bodies in strengthening state legality and in combating and preventing negative social manifestations will be fully effective, provided the entire society cooperates and, especially, all communities create a climate of condemnation for disturbances in social life and for conduct in conflict with the law.

The State Council examined a report on its activities in 1980 and fixed the program for its work in 1981.

The State Council appointed Edward Kowalczyk vice chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control; Boleslaw Szczerba member of the chamber's college; and Boleslaw Koperski ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

It appointed 23 voivodship court judges, 11 judges to the regional labor and social insurance courts and 119 regional court judges and granted Polish citizenship to 14 persons.

Biographies

Edward Kowalczyk, was born in Warsaw on 25 May 1924. During the occupation he attended secret university courses in physics. Following the Warsaw uprising, he was taken to Germany, to the Lansdorf and Mossburg prisoner of war camps. Freed by the U.S. Army, he joined the Polish forces in Italy. He returned to Poland in 1947 and continued his studies in electricity and communications at Warsaw Polytechnical School. He began his scientific work in the electronics department of the school, where he obtained the degrees of doctor, docent and extraordinary professor. Up to 1969 he was the rector's deputy and in charge of the Plock branch of the Polytechnical School. Between 1969 and 1980 he was minister of communications and is now in charge of the scientific research Institute of Communications.

He joined the Democratic Party in 1967 and has been a member of the plenum and Presidium of the Democratic Party Central Committee since 1973. He is a member of the Sejm for the fifth term and chairman of the Main Administration of the Polish Cybernetics Society. Since 1950 he has pursued scientific and publicist activities in the area of his own skills, of organization of science and of propagation of knowledge.

He is holder of the Commander's Cross and the Cavalier's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order and of the Order of Merit.

Boleslaw Koperski was born in 1921 in Lodz to a worker's family. He graduated from the main school of foreign service, the diplomatic and consular department, and from the 2-year PZPR Central Committee Party School.

During the occupation he worked as a forced laborer in Germany, where he was imprisoned in penal camps. In 1945 he began work in the Lodz cotton mill. Between 1945 and 1954 he was a functionary of the Union of Young Fighters and of the Polish Youth Union and held important posts in the Lodz and Warsaw youth organizations. In 1954-55 he worked in the PZPR Central Committee. He began foreign service in 1955 and up to 1971 was, among other things, a deputy departmental director and chief of the military mission and minister plenipotentiary in West Berlin.

Between 1971 and 1980 he was first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee.

COMMENT ON PEASANTS' DISCUSSIONS OF PROBLEMS

LD272042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Jan 81

["Music and Topics" program; unattributed commentary]

[Text] The peasants have started to talk. We could dismiss this, using a smooth phrase, saying that after numerous meetings the farmers are discussing in a business-like way the problems affecting their lives. But the problem is not to make it sound smooth but to recognize that it is a social fact of supreme importance.

The Polish peasant has started to talk. After a long period of silence, equally gloomy as dramatic, his lips have opened. The news reaching us from the meetings is by and large not rosy. It cannot be rosy if the problem is the scythe in the year 1981, if the officials have developed the habit of dealing with most vital peasant matters as with a fly buzzing in the air. When we add to all this the immense social awareness of the people who feed us that they have been dismissed, while hordes of dilettantes have been purchasing licenses and machines needed for nothing, one should not be surprised that the meetings have burst at their seams, that people risking the anger of one person or another by sticking out their necks call a spade a spade and demand their rights.

That is how it should be if there is going to be any improvement in the countryside. To let those speak who work the soil with their own labor means to give a voice to prudence and to provide an opportunity to rebuild what might have been squandered.

Thanks to the reawakening, human activity has not been squandered. But if someone in the echelons thinks that this is just empty talk, he had better not make an appearance in the Polish countryside.

The Polish peasant has started to talk, motivated by the desire to work, by the desire to mean something, to embark on the task of feeding the homeland. We think that it would not be a bad thing if representatives from other settings went to the meetings with peasants now and again. Looking into one another's eyes a great deal can bring understanding and a great deal of good can be done together.

We do not know about the others, but "Music and Topics" draws these lessons from the peasants' talks and concludes from these experiences that no meetings held in large halls can keep pace with them. It is the bread that is right. [sentence as heard]

GUIDELINES FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL REPORTED

LD271458 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jan (PAP)--The economic reform team for self-government and legal principles of the functioning of national economy has prepared guidelines for a bill on self-government of employees of state enterprises, guaranteed under Article 13 of the Polish Constitution.

The guidelines, quoting that article, say that participation in the management is the right of the crew itself and not of the organizations operating at an enterprise. The crew should participate in the management directly and indirectly--through an elected collective body responsible to it and subordinate to it exclusively.

Various organizational forms have been proposed: from a general assembly of the employees (direct participation) to the employees council (indirect participation). Principles of elections to the councils have been also outlined which say among other things that the manager of an enterprise and his deputies will not have the right to be elected. Several different solutions have been also presented as far as the election regulations go.

The guidelines say that the employees council has the right of initiative in all questions concerning the enterprise as well as of expressing its opinion on all the key issues e.g. on the conclusion of agreements on cooperation, export, import, on modernization investments, rewards, etc. The council also adopts resolutions concerning the plans, annual reports, the statute of the enterprise etc., after consultation with the trade unions.

WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT DEVELOPING SLOWLY

LD271416 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] The 25 January deadline for working out the socioeconomic plans for enterprises and their confirmation by workers' self-government bodies has passed. In accordance with the so-called "small reform" the national socioeconomic plan is to be constructed this year from the bottom up. The deadlines for completing various stages of work on the plan have not been met, however, because of the shortage of workers' self-government bodies in many enterprises. Frequently there also is no workers' self-government conference while the new bodies have yet not been constituted. It is expected that some form of self-government will eventually emerge.

In shipyards and other shipping industry enterprises on the Gdansk coast slow negotiations are going on, usually between two or three trade unions and the managements on the subject of establishing workers' self-government in a new form. Probably this will be established in the coming 2 weeks. In the port of Gdansk the nucleus of a representative body has emerged which will deal with confirmation of the plan. It is made up of representatives of party, Solidarity and management. The conference to discuss the plan is envisaged for the end of January. In Gdynia port, on the other hand, no establishment of workers' representative body or approval of the plan is envisaged in the forseeable future.

In many enterprises there are difficulties with working out the plan because of, among others, too many unknown factors such as the size of raw materials' deliveries, economic indices and wages fund.

In Slask Opolski, the workers' self-governments have approved the plans for this year's production and in some industrial enterprises they approved them only on Friday.

ENERGY MINISTRY CALLS FOR COAL RESTRICTIONS

LD280236 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] The Ministry of Power and Atomic Energy has announced that due to fast diminishing stocks of hard coal in power stations, the State Power Board has declared a priority-12 delivery of coal supplies beginning at 0600 on 30 January until further notice. In the event of further diminishing coal stocks in power stations more power cuts will be introduced.

The Ministry of Energy calls upon all consumers of electricity to observe closely the introduced restrictions, thus making a reduction in coal consumption possible. The State Power Board also appeals for the utmost saving of electric power, particularly in factories, offices, shops, stores and other commercial premises.

REPORT FROM KATOWICE EXAMINES COAL EXPORTS

LD270938 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Jan 81

[Excerpts] One of this year's main economic problems is the supply of coal to industry and individual recipients. Various decisions have been taken to reduce the shortage of this fuel, estimated at the very least at 20 million tons. Here is a report from Katowice:

The planned tasks, agreed in accordance with the wishes of the workforces in coal mining, compel one to look at the possibilities of exporting this raw material.

For instance in the first 25 days of this year we managed to export only 370,000 tons of the more than 10 million tons produced by Polish mines. The Gotwald pit in Katowice used to be one of the main exporters of coal. So far it has not sold a single ton abroad this year.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] Within the framework of long-term contracts, our obligations for this year amount to over 40 million tons. This means that in the first quarter, applying the principle of even deliveries, we should export about 10 million tons. What are the prospects for fulfilling this plan? If the present rate is maintained--and only a few days remain to the end of the month--according to the practical estimate of the enterprises, not more than 450,000 tons of coal will be exported this month to European or other countries.

Our estimate for February is not more than 450,000 tons. In all, 900,000 tons for January and February. Our estimate is about 1.5 million tons for this quarter. This is all we can manage after taking domestic demands into account. [end recording]

PURCHASING POWER EXPECTED TO EXCEED MARKET SUPPLIES

LD252100 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 25 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan (PAP)--The purchasing power of the population in the first quarter of 1981 will outscale the market deliveries by some 10 percent, a government study shows. In view of that, the key line of the current work on this year's economic plan is to improve the supply of food.

The Polish Ministry of Internal Trade and Services estimates that it is 15 billion zlotys worth short of food to satisfy the projected demand by next June. The government has therefore prepared a detailed schedule of supplies of imported and home foodstaples to be delivered in order to keep the market under control in the five months ahead.

Owing to imports, the total deliveries of fats over this period will exceed by 1 percent last year's yardstick. All hard currency funds in the disposal of the internal trade and services minister will be spend to alleviate the shortages of key foods.

STATE PRICE COMMISSION ANNOUNCES PRICE CHECKS

LD270738 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] The State Price Commission has announced the results of its checks in the fourth quarter last year. The commission enquired into the justification of more than 5,000 prices charged by more than 500 enterprises, service and catering establishments. Infringements were revealed in one-quarter of the cases. For example, in 12 enterprises run by the leather industry, excessive prices were charged for fashion goods. But irregularities in prices affect goods other than market goods. In telephone equipment manufacturing works in Warsaw, more than 900 prices charged for switchboards and spare parts were in excess by as much as 20 percent. This emabled enterprises to obtain in the past two years Z550 million unjustified profit.

Following the checks some 300 prices for market goods and services and 200 prices charged in the traffic in goods were lowered last quarter. Nearly 500 instances of excessive prices were revealed incommerce. More than 250 persons were fined and cases of 260 other persons were referred to collegiate and other courts.

BIALYSTOK PRECONGRESS TEAM PROPOSALS REVIEWED

LD231214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 23 Jan 81

[Text] Preparations continue for the ninth party congress. The most important place among them belongs to the discussion of program report drafts and documents prepared for the congress.

Meetings in PZPR primary and enterprise organizations provide an especially vital platform for discussing political, social and economic issues and ways of solving conflicts.

Our Bialystok reporter tells us that among motions made to the voivodship precongress team, quite a few deal with internal party problems. The motions stress the direct connection between party renewal and the democratization process in the whole country. Nearly all party organizations in towns and parishes favor clearly defining the principles of party staff rotation at all levels. Demands to elect all officials in a democratic way were made. The suggestion is often repeated that comrades from a given locality should be chosen for secretaries. This also applies to filling administrative jobs in towns and parishes.

FORMER POLISH SOLDIERS IN SOVIET ARMY ISSUE APPEAL

LD232340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Jan 81

[Text] To mark the 63d anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Army a plenary meeting of the Central Council of Former Polish Soldiers of the Soviet Army, was held in Warsaw. The need was stressed for actions aimed at deepening friendship and brotherhood in arms of the Polish People's Army and the Soviet Army with other armies of the Warsaw Pact. Those attending the meeting made an appeal to all Poles, to whom their fatherland is dear, to close patriotic ranks in order to stabilize the political, social and economic life of the country.

WARSAW, MADRID CONCLUDE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

LD280150 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 26 Jan 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP)--The Mayor of Madrid Enrique Tierno Galvan ended his official visit to Warsaw on January 26. An agreement on cooperation between the two capitals was signed in Warsaw during the mayor's visit of several days. Madrid is the first West European capital with which Warsaw has established relations of this kind.

In an interview with a PAP reporter, E. Tierno Galvan expressed his pleasure at the establishment of official contacts between municipal authorities of Madrid and Warsaw and laid emphasis on the importance it has for relations between the two nations.

"I am very pleased with my stay in Warsaw and the possibility it gave me for the direct contact with a country whose cultural life I know and appreciate, said Madrid's mayor. My satisfaction with the visit is compounded by the fact that I could learn personally that the negative publicity given to Warsaw and Poland abroad is either untrue or distorts the truth. The true picture of Poland is totally different from that which foreign mass media are trying to create."

The agreement on cooperation between the two countries signed on January 24 has a broad scope. Speaking about its implementation the mayor pointed to tourism and culture as areas of great possibilities.

Enrique Tierno Galvan admitted that dissemination of information about Poland was somewhat neglected in Spain. "Spanish culture and language are better known in Poland than is Polish culture and language in Spain. This imbalance is unjustified and efforts should be made to rectify the situation, especially through providing more translations and popularization of Polish literature in Spain" said E. Tierno Galvan.

Speaking of his policy which emphasizes development of relations with European cities and worldwide regardless of differences in socio-political systems, and mentioning the philosophy of the "neighbours' Europe", Madrid's mayor said how important it is for peace and friendship among nations.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BIRTHDAY LETTER TO CEAUSESCU

AU261924 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 26 Jan 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Jan (AGERPRES)--The Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP addressed a letter to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, on his birthday conveying him congratulations and warm wishes. The letter is highly appreciative of Nicolae Ceausescu's qualities of communist, politician and statesman, of ardent patriot and revolutionary, of front-ranking militant of the international communist movement and tireless campaigner for the triumph of the ideals of peace, collaboration and progress of mankind. Highlighted are also his theoretical and practical contributions to the elaboration and carrying into effect of the policy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania, his tremendous organizational and political activity, his contribution to the enhancement of the RCP's leading role, to the development of the Romanian socialist democracy.

Likewise, the letter points to President Nicolae Ceausescu's merits as exponent and promoter of the Romanian nation's ideals and aspirations for peace and progress, as outstanding militant for the general cause of socialism, of collaboration and friendship among peoples.

The letter is highly appreciative of the contribution Nicolae Ceausescu makes to the development of the solidarity between the RCP and all the communist and workers' parties, to the strengthening of their cohesion and to the promotion of genuinely new-type relations among them grounded on full equality and on each one's right to self-reliantly elaborate its political line, revolutionary tactics and strategy as well as to the strengthening of the relations of collaboration with the socialist, social democratic parties, with the national liberation movements, with all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces all over the world.

Officials at Fete

AU280830 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 27 January carries on pages 1 and 3 a 400-word report on the 26 January Political Executive Committee festivity marking Nicolae Ceausescu's birthday, which lists the following officials attending:

"The ceremony, held at the party Central Committee, was attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrades Ilie Verdet, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Cornel Burtica, Virgil Cazacu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Constantin Dascalescu, Ion Dinca, Janos Fazekas, Ludovic Fazekas, Cornelia Filipas, Petre Lupu, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Leonte Rautu, Aneta Spornic, Virgil Trofin, Stefan Andrei, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gadea, Ion Ionita, Ana Mresan, Elena Nae, Marin Radoi, Ion Ursu, Richard Winter, Marin Vasile."

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER RECEIVES SFRY TRADE OFFICIAL

AU271955 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Jan (AGERPRES)--On January 27, Cornel Burtica, Romanian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Alija Basic, assistant federal secretary of foreign trade of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Questions of mutual interest regarding the intensification of exchanges on multiple planes between the two countries were approached and the stage was examined of the implementation of the program of goods deliveries and the other actions of economic cooperation in 1980 as well as the course of bilateral commercial relations in 1981.

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER RECEIVED BY FIDEL CASTRO

AU280917 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0805 GMT 28 Jan 81

[Text] Havana, 28 Jan (AGERPRES)--Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the CC of the CPC, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers received Nicolae Constantin, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

During the interview that occasioned an exchange of comradely salutes between Nicolae Ceausescu and Fidel Castro Ruz, the good Romanian-Cuban relations were evoked and satisfaction was expressed at their ascending course, at the bilateral economic and technico-scientific cooperation, in the interests of building the socialist society in the two countries, for the welfare of the Romanian and Cuban friendly peoples.

TRADE OFFICIAL MEETS IRAQI COUNTERPARTS IN BAGHDAD

AU271957 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Baghdad, 27 Jan (AGERPRES)--Ion M. Nicolae, first deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation , that paid a visit to Iraq, was received by Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, and had talks with Sa'dun Ghaydan, deputy prime minister, minister of transport and communications, Hasan 'Ali al-'Amiri, minister of trade, and with Tahir at-Tamfiq, minister of industry and minerals, as well as with other officials of the host country, managers of enterprises and executives of economic units.

Approached were aspects of the development of economic relations, ways and possibilities of expanding commercial exchanges and of promoting the Romanian-Iraqi economic cooperation.

AGRICULTURE MINISTER VISITS LIBYA FOR TALKS

AU271437 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Comrade Angelo Miculescu, deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and minister of agriculture and food industry, paid an official visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, during which he was received by 'Abd as-Salam Jallud, member of the Revolution Command Council.

The two sides reviewed the stage of implementing the decisions adopted during the meetings that took place between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the great 1 September revolution, and opportunities of further developing relations of economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the field of agriculture, forestry and food industry between the two countries.

Comrade Angelo Miculescu also had talks with government members and with Libyan political and economic figures. During those talks, the two sides reasserted their firm determination to implement the programs concluded during the visits paid by Romania's president to the Libyan Jamahiriyah. At the end of the visit a protocol was signed on further developing cooperation between the two countries in such fields as agriculture, forestry and food industry.

TALKS ON CONSUMER COOPERATION HELD WITH EGYPT

AU262109 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 26 Jan 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Jan (AGERPRES)--Answering an invitation of the Central Union of the Consumer Cooperatives--Centrocoop, over January 21-27 a delegation of the Central Union of the Consumer Cooperatives of the Arab Republic of Egypt, headed by Shams al-Din Khafajah, president of the union, visited Romania.

The guests called on Janos Fazekas, Romania deputy prime minister. On the occasion they discussed problems related to expanding the Romanian-Egyptian collaboration and cooperation in the field of consumer cooperatives, as well as aspects of the development of the mutual exchange of goods.

While in Romania the Egyptian delegation conducted talks with Centrocoop executives on the possibilities of developing the collaboration relations between the two organizations and the signing of a long-term agreement.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CONGOLESE PARLIAMENTARIANS

AU272006 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Jan (AGERPRES)--On January 27, president Nicolae Ceausescu received the parliamentary delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo, led by Jean Ganga-Zanzou, president of the People's National Assembly, that pays a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

During the interview satisfaction was expressed at the evolution of the relations of friendship between Romania and the people's Republic of the Congo. At the same time, the joint wish was expressed to lend bilateral relations an ascending course. The existing possibilities were highlighted of expanding the cooperation between the two states on the political, economic, technico-scientific and cultural planes as well as in other fields of activity, and the role was emphasized incumbent on parliaments in strengthening the Romanian-Congolese cooperation and friendship.

Likewise, some questions of the current international life were approached. It was stressed that under the current complicated circumstances of the world situation it was necessary to more firmly act to overcome the states of tension, to more rapidly halt tension and conflicts in various zones of the world and to settle them by political means, by negotiations. Highlighted was the importance of intensified efforts in the fight against the policy of domination and interference in the other states' affairs, of redivision of the spheres of influence, of violation of the peoples' right to free, self-reliant development, for a policy of detente throughout the world, for peace and observance of all peoples' independence. At the same time, stress was laid on the attention the two countries pay to the liquidation of underdevelopment, to the building of a new world economic order, to the establishment of a climate of security and cooperation all over the world, to the attainment of their ideals of freedom and progress of all nations.

The interview occasioned an exchange of friendly messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Denis Sassou Nguesso.

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

AU232047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 23 Jan 81

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jan (AGERPRES)--On January 23 was held in Bucharest the plenary meeting of the Committee for the People's Council Affairs, dedicated to the analysis of the activity carried out in 1980 by the people's councils and of the tasks incumbent on the local bodies of the state power in 1981.

The plenary meeting was opened by Ludovic Fazekas, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Committee for the People's Councils Affairs.

The debates singled out the fact that all the localities of the homeland have witnessed continuous thriving, the plan of production services in the communal and house stock husbanding was implemented 103.4 percent, securing over 600 million lei worth of extra services to the population and industrial units, and the global production plan of the small-scale industry was implemented 112.4 percent, marking a 33.5 percent growth as compared to the level of 1975.

JIANG QING TRIAL 'BEST DEFENSE' OF NEW PRC GOALS

LD272046 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The sentences passed by a special court on the counterrevolutionaries in China led by Jiang Qing, Mao's widow, did not, in fact, come as a surprise to anyone, least of all regarding the extent of the punishment. Although the court was faced from the very start of the proceedings with the difficult task of underlining the difference between the crimes committed and the policies carried out by the accused, the general impression is that it succeeded in this. The court, that is, has no difficulty in showing the guilt of each individual and of the group as a whole. There was even too much evidence.

The trial in Beijing, however, had and still does have a much broader significance than its final outcome. For a country such as China it is one more step in the direction of internal democratization. Even if death sentences and prison terms are not a good illustration for such an assertion, one can nevertheless not refute the fact that much more was wanted and achieved by them than a consistent implementation of the criminal law. One should not regard the sentences passed as revenge, but primarily as Chinese society's ability to protect and defend itself against any lawlessness and abuse of power on the part of individuals and groups. In any event, people have for a long time now been breathing more freely in China, and there is increasingly less opportunity for a return to the old ways. This may not, perhaps, look very significant to outside observers, but for the Chinese man this is the path to complete freedom.

If the trial in Beijing also signified criticism of a policy, it was at the same time the best defense of the new course and goals which Chinese society has set itself as its permanent orientation. This has not yet been reached, and there will perhaps still be some erring, but there will be no dilemma as to whether or not it is necessary to carry on. China is at present preoccupied with preparations for the 12th party congress. Everything which is now anticipated will be completed at the congress and before it. This will truly round off one of the most importance phases of China's internal development since the liberation, and will create even better prerequisites for China to become by the end of this century a medium=developed industrial country.

The Chinese leadership has already decided on the choice of path which China is to follow, and it is of particular importance here that this choice was arrived at through open debate and struggle of opinions. These are considerable innovations in the work of the Central Committee and government which are almost unknown in practice up to now. The settling of accounts with the counterrevolutionary group and the move to the system of collective leadership, which imposed the need to separate party from state functions, are not all that the Chinese leadership intends to carry out. Those responsible for changes in China are aware that halfway solutions, that is combinations of old and new, cannot pull the country out if its backwardness. Changes in the system of government and decisionmaking demand new people capable of thinking for themselves, too. This is a big problem, for such cadres are in short supply in China. The Cultural Revolution took its tool, and quite some time will probably elapse before the consequences of it are removed. Although the opening up of China to the world was more apparent than the action on the domestic level, it was nevertheless conditioned by the level of internal changes. Now that the internal changes are in accord with the opening up to the world, China will be able to proceed both more rapidly and more securely in both directions on which it has decided; this will make it possible for China to be better understood and accepted than hitherto.

After all, the very fact that in China the awareness that the changes decided upon constitute the way to a better tomorrow has been victorious, is sufficient guarantee that the Chinese leadership will persevere in this.

MARTINOVIC REPORTS 'WAR OF NERVES' IN POLAND

AU271441 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 81 p 1

[Lazar Martinovic report]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 23 Jan--Even despite all appeals by central and local authorities and by some social organizations, the independent Solidarity trade union continues to use strikes as a method of pressure and protest. The work stoppages, under various names and of various duration are staged in an organized manner and spontaneously but, here and there, also chaotically. At times the reasons for them are of a broad and general character, whereas at other times or places they are a completely local nature.

The general view is that Poland has entered a new stage of crisis involving new threats to the country's stabilization.

What is characteristic of this stage is the fact that the government is less ready to yield to demands and protests regardless of the fact that the strikes are seriously disrupting the life of citizens and the functioning of the economy. It believes that it is fulfilling its obligations under the signed agreements within the limits of its potential and it is not willing to exceed those limits.

The Solidarity trade union accuses the government of inconsistency in implementing the agreements. What is involved in this connection is not only a matter of free Saturdays or of a legalized union of peasants, even though those two issues have assumed key importance, but a matter of an entire package of problems, including censorship, the law on trade unions, access to information media, political prisoners, the property of the former trade unions and so forth.

The new union is not prepared to accept the government's explanations. For that reason it is resorting to strikes which are assuming increasingly wide proportions. Thus, as has been noted here, "a war of nerves" has begun and the outcome of that war is completely uncertain at this time. The government's official admission that it too is not "without sins" also does not help.

POLISH SATURDAY DISPUTES BRING 'CONFUSION'

AU271900 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 81 p 1

[Lazar Martinovic report]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 24 Jan--Another Saturday brought confusion to the life of 13 million employed Poles. Today both was and was not a working day. Keeping to its plan of free Saturdays this month, the government proclaimed 24 January to be a normal working day. Consistent to its demand for a 5-day week, Solidarity called on its members to boycott the government decision and not come to work today, just as on 10 January.

Thus there has been another contest of strength.

Even members of Solidarity are somewhat confused, for there is no absolute unanimity regarding their attitude toward government arguments even in some leaderships of the orgnization. Responsibility, the economic situation and the danger of fresh tension are here and there overruling emotions even among Solidarity members.

Regardless of all this, it is certain that several million Poles did not work today. If this is linked with the rather large strikes in the preceding 2 days, it can be easily concluded that the country is exposed to fresh upheavals with unforeseeable political and even more economic consequences.

In connection with the latest strikes and today's boycott of the government decision, [Warsaw] television last night sharply attacked Solidarity. In an editorial commentary, it was said that "it is no longer a question of free Saturdays and other problems of the agreement, nor that of the interests of the workers class," but simply "a deliberate intent to increase tension and provoke disorders." If this assessment is accepted as an official position--and one should not doubt it--it may be said that it certainly heralds a deeper confrontation with the independent trade unions.

The Polish media have begun to carry articles from the press of the nearest neighbors and allies which also sharply criticize solidarity. This innovation seems ominous to many observers here. Except to a select few, the negative reaction of the USSR, the CSSR and the GDR to Polish events, and especially to the activities of Solidarity, has not been known to the publicin general. Now the reader is served a handful of quotations which express an unconcealed doubt in the good will of these trade unions.

At the same time, however, talking about the dispute over the working week, the position of Solidarity is also supported by the third trade union organization, which is called the Autonomous Federation of Trade Unions. It, too, is in favor of enacting the workers' demands, but allows the possibility of a gradual implementation. This union, about whose strength nothing is known, also insists on overall negotiations between the government and the entire trade union movement.

VRHOVEC REPORTEDLY CRITICIZES AFGHAN INVASION

LD201153 Tunis L'ACTION in French 15 Jan 81 p 13

[Unattributed report: "Yugoslavia"]

[Text] According to reliable sources in East Berlin Yugoslav Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovec criticized the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan during talks with his East German counterpart Oskar Fischer on Monday evening [12 January].

According to the same sources Mr Vrhovec clearly emphasized his country's stance on the Afghan problem, Yugoslavia having shown its disagreement with the Soviet intervention several times in the past.

On Tuesday the GDR media did not report the criticism expressed by the Yugoslav minister who is making a 4-day official visit to the GDR.

JOSEF KEMPNY, CPCZ DELEGATION VISIT ZAGREB

LD271458 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Jan (TANJUG)--During its 1-day visit to Zagreb the CPCZ Central Committee delegation led by Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee, was today received by Milka Planinc, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. The meeting was attended also by Branko Puharic, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia.

During a cordial and friendly conversation, Josef Kempny set out the present actions and tasks of the CPCZ. Views were also exchanged on the present cooperation between the two parties and countries and the possibilities for its promotion.

REPORTAGE ON LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

Mojsov Speech

AU262140 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan p 3

[Report on speech by Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 22 January]

[Text] What you have before you is a proposal of the basic elements for preparing the concept of the ideopolitical substance and the manner of preparing for the 12th LCY Congress. The LCY Central Committee Presidium carried out the first exchange of views on beginning preparations for holding the 12th congress, and formed a working group, which in the period from last September to January held a number of meetings and prepared several versions of this document. On the basis of the discussions held during another three sessions of the Presidium, and on the basis of the proposals and suggestions of the Presidium of the central and provincial committees and the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, this proposal we must discuss today was made. With this, we are entering a period of active preparations for the 12th LCY congress, Lazar Mojsov, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said at the beginning of his speech.

In the precongress preparations, all organizations of the League of Communists and all working people of our country, and the delegates at the 12th congress, will discuss in a broad and frank dialogue a number of important issues and topics of the present moment in the development of our socialist community.

As the highest forum, and a democratic discussion, of Yugoslavia's communists, the 12th LCY Congress will discuss and assess the activity and development of the League of Communists in the period between the two congresses--1978-1982. It will review implementation of the LCY programmatic orientation in this historic period, and it will determine the vital ideopolitical positions and policy of the LCY on the basic issues of our country's socialist self-managing development and the basic directions of its international activity in future years. It will analyze all socioeconomic, political and ideological trends in our country, as well as the current problems of work and development of the League of Communists. On the basis of a critical analysis of the experiences, results and difficulties that we are facing in the socialist self-managing development of our society, the congress will adopt tasks for the further creative activity of the LCY in building socialism, and in ensuring an even more dynamic and comprehensive development of our country.

The congresses of our party--the League of Communists--have been of extraordinary importance for developing our revolutionary movement and for realizing the goals of a certain stage of the revolution. Both in the preparations and the work of the 12th congress, the continuity and the authentic, Titoite character of our revolutionary development must be fully expressed: the continuity of a creative and resolute struggle of the workers class and the working people headed by the League of Communists for the further development of socialist self-management and for a comprehensive progress of socialist Yugoslavia, a community of free, equal and fraternized peoples and nationalities. The focus of our activity must be on the further development, perfection and consolidation of our entire system of sociopolitical and economic relations on the bases of self-managing associated labor, strengthening the decisive role of the workers class in the overall social reproduction and in overall development of our society, and the constant efforts for an adequate implementation of the leading ideopolitical role of the League of Communists in the political system and the society in general. To this end, it is indispensable to critically, comprehensively and thoroughly perceive, review and elaborate the LCY tasks in the struggle for the country's further sociopolitical and economic development.

At the 12th congress, it will be necessary to analyze more deeply and assess the implementation of the League of Communists' role in the political system of socialist self-management, on the basis of the positions and decisions of the 10th and 11th congresses. As is well-known, this role and manner of implementing the role of the League of Communists were particularly stressed and elaborated in the documents of the 11th congress, particularly in Comrade Tito's report, as well as in Comrade Kardelj's work "The Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management."

The period of 2 and 1/2 years which has passed since the 11th congress is too short to enable us, on this occasion and at this moment, to give a more complete assessment on how these positions and tasks are being implemented in practice. Our obligation is to do this in the political report that will be submitted to the 12th congress. On the basis of a frank dialogue in the League of Communists and with all working people, a critical review of our practice and a confrontation with all current topics of our development, the importance of and the overall results achieved since the 11th congress will be more comprehensively assessed in the precongress discussion. I would only stress that Comrade Tito, in his closing speech, assessed the 11th congress by saying, among other things: "I can say that this was really a fruitful working discussion of Yugoslav communists. I am deeply convinced that the 11th congress will be of great importance for the further development of our socialist self-managing community. And that is primarily because at the congress, our unity of views on the key issues of the further development of our country and the LCY was once more and to a great extent confirmed. Accordingly, the unity of our peoples, who have a deep confidence in the League of Communists, was also confirmed.

If we look a bit further back, then we could say that that period was really filled with creative efforts and a resolute struggle of the League of Communists led by Tito to ideopolitically and theoretically illustrate, legally elaborate, form and consolidate--on the bases of the LCY program--the socialist self-managing development of our society based on associated labor, the workers class' leading role and the leading ideopolitical role of the League of Communists. A historic new concept of the socioeconomic and political relations in the society and its political and self-managing organization is being built with the new Constitution, the Law on Associated Labor and other laws pertaining to the system. This system of relations that we are realizing is deeply democratic and humane. It represents a negation of the classical parliamentary system, irrespective of whether the system of a multiparty or a single party of representative political democracy of bourgeois society is involved, or a one-party statist system under the conditions of state ownership. Thus, a process of great transformations in social relations toward building a society of free producers associated in a self-managing manner has begun. Naturally, this is a very complex, great and long-term task whose implementation is accompanied by difficulties and problems of development. Such a process of dynamic and deep social changes also contains certain new specific features and contradictions that must be overcome. This demands of the League of Communists a capability and constant effort to perceive these problems and contradictions in time, to illustrate them ideopolitically and to initiate political activity to resolve them.

The struggle of the workers class and the working people, led by the League of Communists, for further developing socialist self-managing relations and the delegate system, is inseparable from the struggle against various ideological and other deviations, against liberalism and nationalism, and statist and dogmatic efforts to obstruct and misdirect the revolutionary course of our socialist self-managing development and the policy of nonalignment.

It has been said more than once that the League of Communists has achieved noticeable results in its development since the 11th congress, that it has considerably expanded its ranks, strengthened its ideological and action unity and its influence among the workers class and the working people. Since the 11th congress, over 400,000 new members have been admitted to the League of Communists, among whom most were young people.

Today, the League of Communists has over 2 million members organized in over 62,000 basic organizations, and the League of Communists is deeply rooted in the basic cells of our society--in the basic organizations of associated labor, local and work communities and in the units of our army. Young people, up to 27 years of age, account for 35 percent of the members, while workers from direct production form the most numerous social group in the League of Communists. This means that every third member is younger than 27 years, while every fourth person employed in the social sector of the economy is a member of the League of Communists.

In the process of building up our socioeconomic and political system in a suitable way, the method of work and activity of the League of Communists in the realization of its leading ideopolitical role, and to a certain extent its method of organization, have changed. The role and work of its members today is carried out in the system of socialist self-management, in the delegations, organs of self-management in basic organizations of associated labor and local communities, in work and interest communities and other forms of self-managing organization, in delegate assemblies and in sociopolitical and social organizations. In order for this complex mechanism of democratic self-managing institutions of the political system of socialist self-management to be able to function as efficiently as possible and to free itself as quickly as possible from the inertia of old ways of doing things and a lack of capability, the League of Communists must act as its internal motor force. The League of Communists cannot and must not be outside or above our political system as some externally imposed force; rather it must be an equal factor which takes part in building up standpoints and policy, adopting decisions and taking responsibility. The contrary would mean the formalization of the self-management rights of working people, just as any distancing from work in the delegate and political system as a whole would mean abandoning it to anarchy, so-called spontaneity and open up room for various anti-self-management tendencies.

The 12th congress will sum up the results and experiences in the development and functioning of the political system and will consider even more specifically and work out the place and role of the subjective factor in society, sociopolitical organizations and all organized socialist forces. We will also need to refer again to the tasks and work methods in the strengthening of the role of the Socialist Alliance as a front of organized socialist forces and the most massive organization of working people oriented toward socialist self-management and united in socialist action in this broadest political framework. It needs to do even more to be the main initiator, exponent and organizer of political life. In order for this to be achieved, constant efforts must be made so that in all Socialist Alliance organizations a broad dialogue takes place which will contribute to freedom from the sectarian attitude toward those working people and citizens who sometimes have views which are different from communists on some issues of current policy.

In considerably altered conditions today, in order for the League of Communists to carry out its role even more successfully in the political system and in preparations and work for the 12th congress, we need to devote the necessary attention to constantly building up and consolidating its ideopolitical and action unity on the principles of democratic centralism, its direct link with the working class and other working people and the strengthening of its cohesive role in society. The League of Communists must be in constant contact with all our working people where they live and work, and must constantly listen to their demands and aspirations for the elimination of all negative phenomena in our society.

The object of our particular and permanent interest is the role, content and work method of basic organizations of the League of Communists, and the comprehensive ideopolitical and action training of communists for constant revolutionary work. For the social role and specific tasks of the League of Communists will be carried out all the more efficiently to the extent that LCY basic organizations and communists are capable of developing and carrying out the initiative of working people in their living and working environment, and to the extent that communist and basic organizations work with more initiative, more creatively and in equal partnership with other subjective forces on solving the complex problems of building up socialist self-management and the country as a whole.

We must be involved persistently and in an organized way on the constant strengthening of the ideo-political action, and revolutionary unity of the League of Communists which is best built up in working, creative practice and in comprehensive efforts to maintain and develop the gains and values of our socialist revolution. With a view to this, we need even more organized efforts aimed at the organizational and action training of basic organizations and of the whole League of Communists and at the development, as Comrade Tito often said, of the values of our socialist morals and the moral make-up of the communist as a conscious fighter for our revolution and builder of humane, self-management, inter-personal and social relations. Out of the varied and rich practice to date we need to derive new ideas and lessons for our future work which will help the League of Communists, as Comrade Kardelj said at the 11th congress, to constantly realize its role as the vanguard of the working class "above all in its mentality, not only in its ideology."

The 12th congress will emphasize even more the need to stimulate and develop theoretical and ideological work in the League of Communists and to make greater use of the results of scientific research in analyzing and solving socioeconomic and political problems. We need our Marxist theory and scientific thought to play a more effective part in working out further steps to develop the concept and practice of associated labor and the political system of socialist self-management. Analyses of the ideological situation and ideological trends in the League of Communists and in society should contribute to the constant strengthening of the ability of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces to overcome the many difficulties in the current stage of our development. The role of theory and science must also be expressed in throwing light more comprehensively on new questions we necessarily meet on our path and in efforts for them to be resolved in the spirit of developing the essential values and gains of our revolution.

Developed Marxist theory is an essential condition to ensure that ideo-political training and Marxist education of communists is based more fundamentally on Marxism and at the same time directed at the most important topical problems. The need for a higher level of ideological training is indicated in particular by the fact that in recent years, as has already been mentioned, a large number of new members joined the League of Communists, the majority of whom were young people, and that more than 1.5 million young people study in an organized way the principles of Marxism and socialist self-management in their secondary vocational education and in higher education. However, this study must not be only book-learning and lessons, but must be linked with the whole of our practice, so that young communists adopt the Marxist method of thinking and a creative approach to the current problems of our society. The ideological struggle of the League of Communists for the affirmation of socialist self-management relations in various spheres of life demands today, more than ever before, even more harmonious linking between political action and the practice of ideological training and scientific and theoretical work.

Of crucial significance for the promotion and democratization of sociopolitical relations, and for the continued successful development and unhindered functioning of the political system of socialist self-management, especially of the delegate system, is the consistent and complex realization of Tito's initiative on the development of collective work, decision-making and responsibility. The forthcoming congress must devote the necessary attention to a critical analysis of the realization of this significant initiative, as well as to an assessment of the results we have achieved in this and to setting out further action by the League of Communists in this direction.

The 12th congress will also devote special attention to the continued development of intranational, and to the deepening and consolidation of the policy of national equality of all the nations and nationalities of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces.

With the new Constitution, and the development of the socioeconomic and political system which is based on it, new and significant steps have been made on the path of continued affirmation of our nations and nationalities, in promoting the autonomy and community of the republics and provinces and the consolidation of brotherhood and unity. The congress will evaluate these trends and point to those issues which will need to be resolved in the future.

The congress should also assess results and problems and set out further tasks in the LCY's ideo-political action in relation to the realization of the policy and strategy of more rapid development of the insufficiently developed republics and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as a joint interest and condition of harmonious development of the country as a whole. These issues are also of great significance from the point of view of the continued development of intranational relations.

The development of socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations and the material development and realization of the policy of economic stabilization are among the most important problems which deserve full attention in the period of preparation for the congress and at the congress itself.

The central question in the activity of the League of Communists is the consolidation of the decisive role of the working class and of associated labor in all social reproduction and the building of income-based relations. It is a question of the degree to which workers today, direct producers, really dispose of income and of the surplus of labor in their basic organizations of associated labor, and decide on the pooling of labor and resources with other workers in associated labor so as to raise new production and other capacities and gain joint income and receipts. Workers are directly interested in the greatest possible profitability and efficiency of investments, for on this, to a great extent, depends the increase in total income and so of their personal income. This interest in greater social and personal income represents a strong material basis for greater productivity of labor and for the development of income-based relations and socioeconomic self-managing relations as a whole.

Proceeding from the ideopolitical orientations of the 11th LCY Congress, the conclusions of the Presidium and of the Central Committee, especially of the 15th session of the Central Committee, and the essence of our economic and political system, the realization of the economic stabilization policy and of intensive development represents the basis and imperative of our continued successful social and economic development. This is also the basis of our medium-term development policy and must therefore be the focus of practical action by the League of Communists and all socialist subjective forces in preparation for the congresses of republican Leagues of Communists, conferences of provincial Leagues of Communists and the 12th LCY Congress. This assumed the broadest social action for ensuring the decisive position of associated labor in disposing of income and the total resources of social reproduction, a decisive orientation toward reducing structural disharmonies in the economy and the essential improvement of the position of our country in the international division of labor, above all by strengthening its export orientation. A constant increase in income, based on a growth in labor productivity and rational use of resources, is an essential condition for achieving this aim. For only in this way can we achieve further total social and material progress for the country and a rise in the living standard of working people and citizens.

In the period up to the congress we also need to call for the creation of ideo-political preconditions in the sphere of the broader processes of pooling labor and resources, as well as in self-managing integration and overcoming narrow interests, complacency and isolation. It is particularly important that the League of Communists be involved in changing the method of thought and behavior, one of the causes of the difficulties in our economic development.

We need to do more work on a deeper clarification of the social, ideological and political sense of our policy of economic stabilization.

Apart from this, the agenda of the 12th congress will also contain many other questions significant for our internal development. These deserve to be discussed carefully and specifically, and the policy and directions of action by the LCY toward these questions need to be set out. It is a question of all those issues contained in the proposal as elements of the ideo-political content of the 12th LCY Congress, about which I have not spoken. Above all, it concerns an assessment of the undoubtedly impressive results which we have achieved in carrying out the standpoints of the 11th congress in building up and strengthening all-people's defense and social self-protection as united and integral functions of the political system of socialist self-management, in which the LCY has a particular role and responsibility.

Necessary attention will also be devoted to topical issues and ideological trends in the sphere of spiritual creativity, the role of science, culture and education as significant components in the development of the forces of production of society and the development of socialist self-managing relations, as well as other topical issues.

During the period of preparations, that is half way through the year, the third congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia will be held. This will discuss in detail many topical issues of our socioeconomic development, affirm positive experiences in the development of socialist self-managing relations and analyze the cause of difficulties and resistance which occur in this development. Basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists will be involved in preparations for the congress of self-managers and its results should also be used in preparations for the 12th LCY Congress, as well as for the republican League of Communist congresses and provincial conferences.

The 12th congress will analyze and assess the international situation, as well as cooperation between the League of Communists and other parties and movements. The current complex and difficult international situation is full of contradictions and uncertainties. Current trends in the world and international relations, the current situation in the nonaligned movement, as well as other circumstances and topical events, the situation in the workers' movement, the development of our relations with other countries and so forth, mean that great attention needs to be devoted to these issues at the 12th congress. That is why we need to carry out an adequate and detailed analysis of the international situation and the state of the nonaligned movement, and on the basis of this an analysis of Yugoslavia's international position, so as to establish a long-term platform, directions of action and tasks of our foreign policy.

We also need to subject our current experiences of the LCY's rich international cooperation with communist, workers' and other progressive parties and liberation movements to analysis, and assess them.

And finally, a serious task which lies before us in the precongress period, as well as at the congress itself, is the preparation of the necessary changes and supplements to the LCY Statute. These changes have great political significance, in view of the serious loss inflicted on the LCY and all our nations and nationalities with the death of our comrade Tito, LCY president. We need to regulate in the statute his initiative on the promotion of collective work, decision-making and responsibility, and in this connection to create the conditions for the further development of democratic relations and the enrichment of the principal of democratic centralism. Similarly, we also need to work out topical issues in the area of the realization of the leading role of the League of Communists in society and its work in the political system. We shall also need to discuss and work out the future role and tasks of LCY organs, the Central Committee and its organs, as well as their future organization and composition.

We will have prior discussions on all this in the commissions preparing for the congress as well as in the Presidium and in the Central Committee. When political standpoints have been adopted on these issues, they need to be passed on to the LCY Commission for Statutory Questions for the preparation of specific proposals.

In the view of the Presidium, the issues contained in the proposal before you--whose significance I have tried to point out to you--represent the basic elements and global orientation in preparations of the concept of the ideopolitical content of the 12th LCY Congress. Of course, this does not exhaust all the questions, nor should it be considered that those issues which were not presented here do not deserve our attention.

In proposing to the Central Committee that in the congress preparations no particular unified document, platform or subject for public discussion should be released in advance this time, but that work should start immediately on draft documents of a resolution or several resolutions, the political report and changes and amendments to the LCY Statute, the Presidium considers that in this way preparations of the draft document for public discussion will be carried out more quickly and efficiently and thereby enable the membership, as well as basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists, to take part more directly and specifically in formulating party policy. A platform or topics for discussion, which would have to contain a whole area of issues, would need to have a more generalized character, which would reduce the possibility of direct participation by the membership and organizations on a certain issue in building up and establishing LCY policy. Draft documents prepared in good time would be of better and more specific use as an orientation in preparations of republican League of Communist congresses, provincial conferences and the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The political report on the work of the Central Committee and the basic characteristics of LCY activity in the period between the two congresses, as proposed, would have a slightly changed character. In fact, it should be both an analytical and ideopolitical basis for the preparation of other documents and in a certain sense it has the character and role which the previous topics for discussion or platform used to have in preparations for previous congresses. As proposed, the summary of such a report would be released and made available for public discussion.

The Presidium emphasizes that the draft resolution (or several resolutions on which a stand might be adopted later) needs to contain, apart from a comprehensive clarification of the current stage of our socialist self-managing development and a formulation of the basic ideopolitical standpoints and directions of LCY action, the most concrete possible formulation of direct ideopolitical tasks. In this way the congress will enable communists to be guided by even more complete ideas in their ideopolitical action, so that they are trained ideologically, theoretically and in practice to carry out the fight to strengthen associated labor, and it will also enable generally more successful development of the socioeconomic and political system of socialist self-management. This assumes the avoidance of a repetition of previously established principled orientations and standpoints, which would give the document the character of a general declaration. However, proceeding from them, light needs to be thrown on new issues with which we are confronted and, action tasks need to be formulated. The 12th congress must be characterized by action, for many principled standpoints are well known and established. We need to work harder and more efficiently on their implementation. On this, the 12th congress should not only discuss the realization of what we have already concluded, but in the period of preparing for it and during the congress, we need to stimulate the search for new paths, throw light on prospects and set out standpoints and specific tasks in the further socialist self-managing development of our society.

As you have seen from the proposed standpoints, the Presidium proposes that a separate committee should not be formed, but that the Central Committee should authorize and ask the Presidium to organize all the preparations for the congress, and that the composition of special commissions to prepare draft documents should be determined and other business and tasks in preparation for the congress be carried out. It was also considered that this is one of the ways in which the Presidium could work directly on preparations for the congress and which would link them with current topical ideopolitical activities, which would speed up this work and make it more efficient.

The Presidium emphasizes that the League of Communists of every republic and province and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army--the whole membership of the League of Communists--should be involved as directly as possible in preparation for the congress. We need to advocate that the proposed document should be the fruit of broad democratic discussion, initiatives and proposals of all members, basic organizations and organs in the League of Communists. In precongress activities, we need to achieve maximum mobilization of the membership, working class and working people on the realization of topical tasks of economic stabilization, continued building-up and efficient functioning of the socioeconomic and political system and the ideopolitical and action training of the League of Communists for the realization of its role in current conditions.

As you have seen from the proposals, the Presidium proposes that the 12th congress be held in the period envisaged in the statute, provisionally half-way through 1982, and that the congresses of the republican Leagues of Communists, provincial conferences and the conference of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army--at which, among other things, the election of members of LCY organs takes place--should be held before the 12th congress, that is in the first half of 1982. After consultations have taken place, the Presidium will prepare suitable proposals and decisions for the next session of the Central Committee on the number of delegates, the venue, work method of the congress, number and character of its commissions, reports and other unresolved questions.

At this session we need primarily to discuss the basic elements for the preparation of the concept of the political content of the 12th congress and, naturally, accept them, together with certain remarks, suggestions and proposals made at today's discussion, as a global ideopolitical orientation in further activities on preparations for the congress. We also need to adopt the proposed orientation in organizational preparations and form commissions to work out the draft documents and other preparations for the congress.

According to the proposed provisional timetable and as the need dictates, the Presidium will prepare proposals for suitable standpoints and decisions which, as part of preparations for the congress and on the basis of statutory obligations, should be adopted by the Central Committee at future sessions.

With today's session of the Central Committee and the adoption of the proposed standpoints and decisions, the LCY officially starts specific activity on preparations for the 12th LCY Congress. These preparations demand maximum involvement, effort and responsibility from all members, organizations and organs of the League of Communists, and especially from us as Central Committee members.

In its general orientation and ideopolitical content, the 12th LCY Congress should be the congress of continuity of our socialist revolution, opening up new prospects of development, and so it should also be a congress action. In the current stage of our development, as previously, our successes depend primarily on the ideopolitical unity of the League of Communists, the working class and all our nations and nationalities. We are convinced that the LCY will in future, as has been the case up to now, achieve new successes and victories, firmly and unshakeably following the program of the LCY and Tito's path in the continued building-up of our socialist self-managing community.

Dragosavac Speech

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[Speech by Dusan Dragosavac, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, at 22 January LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)--In line with the conclusion of the 68th LCY Central Committee Presidium session, a report was prepared on the implementation of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the tasks of the League of Communists in implementing Tito's initiative on the promotion of collective work, decision-making and responsibility, and on the further socio-political democratization.

Implementation of these conclusions represents a permanent task of the League of Communists and of all socio-political organizations, of the working people and self-managers in the struggle for efficient work, further democratization and for the strengthening of social responsibility. Tito's initiative has been accepted by the League of Communists and by society not only as a result of the hitherto democratic socialist development of our society, as an expression of the continuation of our revolution, but also as an element of the perspective of the further development of socialist self-management. The experiences gained, even though in a short time, demonstrate how much the views that the implementation of the initiative would call into question the stability and the continuity of our development have no real political basis. In the same vein, it has been demonstrated how oversimplified those views are which reduce this initiative to a mere application of the principle of the duration of a mandate.

Comrade Tito's initiative and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium are not a manifestation of a momentary need. This has its roots, its source and its genesis in the development of our revolutionary movement, the fundamental aspect of which is its democratic nature. In the present LCY Statute, adopted at the 11th congress, a step further has been made in the elaboration and enrichment of the contents of democratic centralism, perfecting collective work and collective and personal responsibility. Particular attention is paid to creating the conditions for a free manifestation of initiatives, for a free presentation of attitudes, for the development of democratic discussion and the battle of views, and for the adoption of decisions by democratic majority, along with the obligation that adopted decisions should be implemented. Exponents of views and proposals who remain in the minority, by freely sticking to their own views, are duty bound to accept and implement the decisions of the majority without the right to act in the direction which would make the unity of action difficult and which would hinder it, because this would represent a form of factional activity.

The development of democratic relations in the LCY and in the work of its organs and the elimination of possible dangers from various negative phenomena which have existed in the past and which could still arise in our society, such as pretentions to leadership, technocratic and bureaucratic behaviour and such, have also called for relevant changes in the organization and work method of the LCY organs. This has been done both in standing orders on the organization and work method of the Central Committee and of the Presidium, following Tito's demise, by a special decision of the Central Committee and the relevant changes and supplements to the above-mentioned standing orders.

In the debate, in connection with the adoption of the standing order, Kardelj made a great contribution, as is known, to presenting and regulating the collective work method in the League of Communists. He insisted that the leading League of Communists organs be truly democratic organs, that the responsibility of the leaderships and of the individuals in them be tightened up, that hierarchical relations be overcome and that the democratic spirit in the League of Communists be nurtured and strengthened in order that its members, regardless whether they discharge a party function or not, can manifest their creative ability and exert an influence on the formulation of LCY attitudes and policy.

The experiences so far of the work of the Central Committee and of its Presidium, the introduction of the function, first of the chairman and now of the president of the Presidium, with a 1-year mandate and of the secretary with a 2-year mandate, the equitable and democratic relations, the collective method of work and decision-making, the collective and personal responsiblity, the practice of broader consultations and of visiting the organizations in the preparation of sessions, more frequent Central Committee sessions--though the span of time since we have introduced these changes is a short one and though much still remains to be done in this direction--show that we are on the right road and that results are already being achieved in the implementation of the spirit and essence of Tito's initiative and of the LCY Presidium conclusions.

On several occasions the Presidium has discussed topical and concrete issues linked with Tito's initiative and has provided encouragement for as systematic as possible an implementation of the essence of the initiative and of the concrete obligations stemming from the conclusions. As stressed in the report, in the central and provincial committees and in the municipal and basic organizations of the League of Communists, ideo-political activity concerned with the implementation of these tasks has been developed and concrete programs laid down in this respect. The Presidium has proposed to the LCY Central Committee to determine, in line with the obligation stemming from the conclusions, the immediate tasks of communists in municipal conferences and committees. This was done at the eighth and the 10th sessions of the LCY Central Committee while central and provincial committees had elaborated this in even more specific terms.

Similar activity has also been developing in all socio-political organizations, social organizations and associations, as well as in sociopolitical communities. This activity is more broadly linked with resolving topical socioeconomic and political tasks. It has been pointed out that in all social environments, in the functioning of the institutions of the political system, activity should be directed at the further democratization of relations, development and promotion of collective work, decision-making, collective and personal responsibility. With the development of the delegate system, the cadre base is also being considerably expanded because cadres, trained and educated in the self-managing practice, are also being ideologically and politically affirmed on a large scale. With the substantial application of the conclusions, favorable conditions are also being created for the fuller realization of some other principles of the cadre policy, such as deaccumulation of functions and overcoming conditions and situations which reproduce, on a broad basis, political professionalism. Of course, we cannot liquidate professionalism, in the sense of professional work in certain political functions, but what is at stake is to restrict it in order that political professionals are not being reproduced on a large scale.

The report mentions the activity in preparing the proposed changes and supplements to the constitutions and the statutes and some normative solutions which would make the application of Tito's initiative possible and which would promote collective work and responsibility in the organs and bodies of socio-political communities. I would like to draw your attention to the solution regarding the duration of the mandate of the president of the Federal Executive Council, which represents a modification of the relevant attitude contained in section 4 of the conclusions where reference is made to a 2-year mandate. At its 68th session on 7 October, the Presidium agreed in principle with the solution laid down in the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution regarding the duration of the mandate of the president of the Federal Executive Council, that is, that that mandate should last 4 years and that the existing constitutional concept of the president of the Federal Executive Council be retained, believing that in this way the basic intention contained in conclusions is achieved.

The report also stresses some of the weaknesses. It should be said that, in addition to certain objective difficulties and problems, particularly in the beginning, there was superficiality and rashness and thus some solutions have been improvised instead of being first thoroughly discussed along with relevant political and cadre preparations. This should be put right in the next elections and precongress activity. In some cases there has been oversimplification and a unilateral approach to this significant socio-political issue. The fact should also not be neglected that in addition to a declarative acceptance of this initiative there has also been lack of understanding.

It should also be said that there are still views favoring and attempts to have a president with a 1-year mandate, introduced where this is not most appropriate. This refers to some organizations of associated labor, some social organizations and citizens' associations, working bodies of the organs of socio-political organizations, and so forth.

The activity of members of basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists in implementing Tito's initiative on the strengthening of collective work, decision-making and responsibility should be strengthened in particular in the institutions of the political system through the development of the delegate system, of its democratic relations, through the cadre-strengthening of leaderships and through the promotion of work methods in order that the initiative and responsibility of every individual might find their fullest possible expression. Overcoming hierarchical relations would contribute considerably to the implementation of this initiative and would also make ideo-political action in the solving of all other topical socioeconomic problems more effective.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, as the political-executive organ of the Central Committee, also acts in this direction. Presidium members delegated to social and working bodies and organs of sociopolitical organizations are involved in formulation and implementation of their attitudes and of their policy and of the direct communication between the work and activity of the League of Communists. As members of the Presidium, Central Committee members also work in the delegate system, that is, in organs of sociopolitical organizations and other social bodies as delegations, delegates or representatives of the LCY or the LCY Central Committee. However, the practice of delegates and delegations of the LCY informing the Presidium and the Central Committee on time of their work and of certain political and practical conclusions being drawn from this work on the basis of analysis, is only in its infancy. There is also the well-known problem of the need for communists to work in the political system which was manifested in the conclusions of the 11th LCY Congress on the basis of Kardelj's well-known study of Socialist Self-Management."

From the point of view of collective work it has been shown to be a positive aspect in practice to form working groups of Central Committee members, members of LC organs of the republics and provinces, and of other LCY members who tour organizations and organs of the League of Communists throughout the country and hold talks with them when sessions of the Central Committee and even some sessions of the Presidium, in particular when a more significant subject is at stake, are prepared. In this way a direct insight is gained in the state and work of organizations and an opportunity is extended to the membership in basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists to manifest initiatives and to make their comments and proposals. The practice of LCY Central Committee members taking part in the work of basic organizations and municipal conferences and committees of the League of Communists outside the republics and the provinces where they were elected has also been well received.

In preparing certain issues for discussion at the Central Committee sessions in the stage when they are discussed by the Presidium, more use could be made of the results of the work of commissions. In addition, science could and should be included more in the preparations for the discussion of certain issues at the Presidium and the Central Committee sessions and greater use made of analyses and results of certain scientific investigations.

The weakest point of the organization of work methods of all organs, including also the Presidium and the Central Committee, is the question of greater efficiency and responsibility in implementing the adopted attitudes and the passed decisions and conclusions. This points to the need to pay greater attention to the organization and implementation of adopted attitudes, adopted decisions and conclusions and to ensuring insight into the way they are implemented.

More rational work by LCY organs also depends on the necessary and timely coordination of activity with other organs of the League of Communists, socio-political organizations and state organs. Improved coordination would avoid duplication of some meetings and overcome the not-so-rare practice of the same issues being discussed in a similar or often identical way by several organs in the federation, the republic, province and municipality. An important element of the rationalization of work and of a more efficient preparation of Presidium and LCY Central Committee sessions, delegate assemblies and other organs are the relevant materials which are proposed as the basis for discussion and for the adoption of attitudes. They are often presented in an extensive form and not rarely in equally generalized terms at various levels and in various environments.

What also exerts an influence on the present work method of the LC leaderships and other socio-political organizations is the present economic situation. As is known goods-monetary relations are seriously disrupted and the market is deformed. Many of our cadres are much too concerned with distribution without sufficient linkup with production where income is, after all, created. Because the normal market and economic goods-monetary relations are disrupted the politization of partial interests comes even more to the fore. The social character of means of production and income, free exchange of labor, links between various sectors of the economy and noneconomy inside Yugoslavia and the more optimum inclusion of our economy in the international division of labor are only slowly being affirmed. In such a material situation, etatist, state ownership and technocratic tendencies, group property and even private property interests and various similar secondary phenomena are manifested more strongly. Problems of social differences are also exacerbating. At times all this seems to be unfavorable from the point of view of collective and democratic work, while in essence it is the other way round: Consistency in collective and democratic plants makes success in socio-political work and the resolving of all socioeconomic problems easier.

It goes without saying, in the short period of time it has not been possible to resolve all the problems which we have raised in our programs. After all, the final constituting of associated labor is a matter for an entire era. But now the problem lies in our still slowly implementing the system itself, and in some aspects we are even stagnating. Therefore, agreements on issues linked with the intensification of production, raising labor productivity and efficiency, creating greater income, and through it also an objective and rational distribution, are arrived at with greater difficulties. On the other hand, the situation in the world, which is in the grip of a deep organic crisis of economic and political relations, also exerts an influence on our internal situation. All this points to the need to understand and respect objective socioeconomic laws dependant on the development of production forces, commodity production and markets in order that we might also free the agreement-reaching process by associated working people in the delegate system from voluntarism.

Because, the more one proceeds from these laws the more successfully that over-rated concern with distribution is overcome, because distribution in our present condition is still alienated, to a great extent, from direct producers and associated labor because they still do not exert sufficient influence on expanded reprodoction--and it is particularly alienated by the method by which general and joint consumption are determined. This makes it difficult for us to be more productive and to create more and to be able, depending on this, and on the basis of work and contributions but also of socialist solidarity, to distribute more. Through collective work and collective and personal responsibility we will be more successful in political work and in the development of our socialist system.

The development of socialist self-management is essential not merely for the consolidation but also for the further development of brotherhood and unity of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities. Brotherhood and unity are not given once and for all. They have to be continually developed and promoted. The condition for this is that we be active and successful in overcoming various monopolies, various bureaucratic-technocratic interests which hinder the free movement of social resources, goods, people and ideas inside and outside Yugoslavia. By collective efforts, when the tasks of every collective and individual in it are clearly known, we will more successfully overcome these important social problems.

Though we have substantially changed the class structure of our society by divesting the exploitation class of its power, we are still a society with relatively insufficiently developed production forces, in which various social and even class contradictions exist. It is, therefore, of crucial significance for us to develop frank and serious discussions with the aim of finding the best solutions for the further strengthening of the social nature of means of production, for the promotion of labor productivity, for remuneration according to work and the results of work, along with the principle of solidarity and reciprocity by which the individual and common interests are best resolved and synthesized.

The democratic debate also implies successful agreements and the implementation. In order that issues of common interest--which are resolved between several socialist subjects, including also those which are coordinated by agreements between republics and provinces in the federation--be successfully resolved, they must proceed not merely from realistic possibilities and needs but also from the affirmation of freely associated labor, pooling labor and resources, increasing productivity, and so forth. To work better, to save more, to export more--this is imperative for us and not merely on account of the balance of payments, though this too is significant--but in the first place on account of the stability of our socialist self-managing system, the strengthening of the role and prestige of our socialist and nonaligned country, on account of successfully overcoming external and internal problems. In a nutshell, on account of a stable present and an even better future.

It is important that communists in the delegate system fight successfully for all aspects of consumption being placed within realistic frameworks; this does not mean any kind of denials, except for denials of illusions that more can be spent than there is and that distribution can be made unilaterally and arbitrarily and independently from the results of production and labor productivity. Anyway, the problem of coordinating needs with possibilities will always be present.

The development of self-management, in which working people are included on a large scale through the entire system of socioeconomic and political relations, represents the basis for the successful elimination of pressures by state ownership tendencies and overcoming the personal union between the party and the state machinery, and thus also of a more successful struggle against the bureaucratization of society and also of the League of Communists.

We have still not eliminated--and will not do so easily--the bureaucratic-technocratic danger and made it impossible for it to manifest itself in our society. This potential danger will remain until direct producers and associated working people have become the exponents of social reproduction, including also of expanded reproduction, and until socialism has triumphed in the majority of countries.

A similar danger also arises for the League of Communists if it operates outside the system, if pretensions to leadership and factionalism in it develop. It is, therefore, of crucial significance that the League of Communists be at all times most firmly linked with its working class and with the working grass roots in general, with associated labor and with the delegate system. The League of Communists cannot be a kind of power outside the system; as the leading ideopolitical force of society it must be firmly and collectively anchored in the system of self-management. In developing the self-managing system and operating in it, the League of Communists will also be contributing to the speedier realization of its own program premises. Without being deeply rooted in the self-managing structure, the League of Communists would be more and more in the service of the technocratic-bureaucratic structure and would lose the ability to fight for progress.

We must be decisive in revising all aspects of consumption, including also reduction in the expenditure on invisible trade with reference to other countries and foreign exchange, on which we have already agreed. But we should also ensure the realization of this in the work field.

Many various self-managing interests exist in our society objectively, independent from our will and consciousness. These interests are in essence an expression of the relevant level of social devision of labor in our country. It is a merit of our democratic self-managing and socialist system that it is possible to arrive at an understanding of these interests and that, as opposed to the dogmatic illusions about the so-called monolithic nature of interests, these interests are recognized and resolved without politization of the kind existing in a multiparty system, that is, they are resolved through democratic synthesis and integration as self-managing interests. But this cannot be achieved without a continuous promotion of direct socialist democracy, without work and social responsibility, collective and personal work, collective and personal responsibility. It was Hegel who noted that freedom and democracy do not consist in "everyone doing what he wants." Therefore, in our country, too, freedom is not and cannot be the space for idleness and lack of responsibility.

What is also of great significance for collective work and the development of the League of Communists and of its creative ability are the comradely relations among communists. When he took over the leadership of the party, Tito, in a letter, demanded from communists that they develop comradely relations: "First you must be good comrades and I do not want to hear about there being communists who do not speak to one another." Marx said that when people do not mutually communicate in a sincere way this was, in fact, the lowest human state equal to the animal state. Noncomradely relations among communists have their roots, in fact, in the nondemocratic petit bourgeois relations in parties of the bourgeois system. Stalinism in particular introduced and developed them. After all, it is from certain material and social conditions and from the concepts and logic corresponding to such conditions that the well-known practice of unequal relations between communist parties and socialist countries has emerged.

Communists need not advocate some kind of formal monolithism [monolitnost] behind which there is, in essence, a lack of unity. Communists and their leaders cannot be excepted from social criticism with regard to work, social affairs, responsibility and creativity. It goes without saying that the League of Communists should fight for criticism being serious and substantiated. The League of Communists does not need "obedient" people, or irresponsibile ones either.

In collective leaderships not only collective but also personal creativity and responsibility should be developed. This has always been the virtue of revolutionaries, of genuine fighters for socialism, for human and national freedom, for genuine socialist, and in our conditions, self-managing democracy. The solutions of the delegate system based on the social character of means of production and the socialization of state functions is the [word indistinct] ability to resolve collectively and successfully various self-managing interests. The recognition of self-managing interests and the collective efforts to have them resolved democratically represent the best basis to neutralize negative political interests, the basis of which is private or state property of social means of production and the relevant multi party or one-party monopoly based on it.

The conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the initiative are being broadly implemented in social practice. There is broad work on perfecting the methods of collective work and collective and personal responsibility.

Broad changes have been carried out in sociopolitical organizations in the self-managing structure concerning certain functions where the change could be resolved by standing orders or by statutary decisions; otherwise, changes have been made to have this applied. In connection with the application of the initiative in sociopolitical communities, the constitutional commissions have completed discussion and have come forward with proposals on changes in the constitutions, and this is part and parcel of the normal constitutional procedure.

The next step will have to be made in the preelection and precongress activity--both in the statutes as well as in planning of leaderships as regards cadres.

As regards collective work, decision-making and democratic practice, methods and style of work, this is a problem which will have to be continually perfected.

There is no doubt that the League of Communists and our other sociopolitical organizations and self-managing structures, will, in developing sociosocialist relations and in developing collective and personal work and responsibility, be even more successful in the construction of our socialist society.

EXCESSIVE EQUIPMENT IMPORTS CRITICIZED AT MEETING

AU281025 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 81 p 1

[A.P. report]

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Jan--In 11 months of last year, $4.3 billion was spent on the imports of metalworking industry products, mostly equipment, or $600 million more than on the imports of oil and food together. To reduce this expenditure within the limits of the country's means, the Yugoslav Economic Chamber organized a meeting of the interested businessmen and representatives of the pertinent organs.

In the introductory speeches it was pointed out that the large imports of machinery, equipment and technology hold back the domestic machine-building industry, which is capable of matching the foreign machine-building industry, but has no resources to grant credits to buyers. During the just concluded medium-term plan, Yugoslavia imported equipment worth $12 billion. Lack of control caused several foreign licenses to be acquired for the same product. Thus, Yugoslav collectives bought eight foreign licenses for the production of automobiles. A similar situation exists for tractors, storage heaters and electronic calculators. The calculators are produced in cooperation with 17 foreign partners.

The meeting organized by the Yugoslav Economic Chamber is the first in a series to clarify accumulated difficulties and misunderstandings.

DOLANC DISCUSSES PRESIDENCY, NATIONALITIES

AU271221 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1568 18 Jan 81 pp 8-12

[Jug Grizelj report on NIN interview with Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in Belgrade "last week"]

[Excerpts] Within the framework of NIN's tradition of meetings with prominent Yugoslav political, cultural and public workers, last week Stane Dolanc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, visited our editorial office. During an open 3-hour conversation, of which we publish the most interesting parts, Dolanc answered a large number of topical questions concerning our country's ideological and political life.

Answering a question on the role of the press in the process of preserving and further expanding our democratic institutions and also in view of a noticeable sensitivity apparent whenever any rather open dialogue is started, Stane Dolanc said that in his opinion press, radio and television journalism is a socio-political profession of prime importance with all responsibilities and obligations stemming from that. "A great deal has been said lately--and you have also mentioned it just now--about people's sensitivity toward some individual actions by persons holding official positions. I think that the press, radio and television must be free and responsible in their work, but this implies at the same time that they must take into account certain realities of time and place, the geopolitical situation and the like, which naturally does not imply that they should not be critical."

As to "certain sensitivities" in some of our own domestic communities, Dolanc says that here we have an interesting phenomenon: "We all talk about freedom of the press, but at the same time we all would like in a certain way to give directions. It seems to me that even some journalists would like to be directed, for if you are directed then you have no responsibility. These are the problems that have been faced by journalists--and not only by them--for a number of years now and such problems will be with us for a long time to come. Only if one possesses sufficient courage and ability and struggles for principled views, can one overcome that. However, all in all, I think that our newspapers are very good."

NIN: Comrade Dolanc, in a conversation with foreign journalists after the 10th LCY Congress you said that it is ludicrous to what extent the West and the East fail to understand the essence of our system and how they constantly talk about what will happen "after Tito" and who will take his place. You said generally that they speculate whether this or that will replace him because they cannot understand that Tito is the symbol of the self-managing system and that the problem of a successor does not arise at all. That has proved to be correct. However, will you tell us a little more how the Presidency and the Presidium actually function?

Dolanc: Although I am naturally better acquainted with the conditions in and work of the LCY Presidium, I think that, following President Tito's death, the SFRY Presidency has fully asserted itself as the collective head of the state. I also think that the SFRY Presidency's method of work is an example of collective work, decisionmaking and, I would say, also responsibility. The SFRY Presidency which had already functioned for so many years when Tito was still alive, cultivated collective work and collective responsibility from its very beginning. I think that Tito himself who knew that we need such an organ that would suit our federal system and our intranational relations, greatly contributed to that, as did Kardelj with his views.

As to the Presidium of the League of Communists, I think that we have reached a stage at which the principles of collective leadership and responsibility will have to be elaborated to the end in a new statute or in supplements and amendments to the present statute.

In this respect we are perhaps even lagging to a certain extent behind life and reality because, as long as President Tito was alive, he had, as the LCY president, certain rights under the statute's special provisions. We now face the question who will be the one to replace the institution of LCY president. Several views have been expressed and proposals made. Will it be the LCY Presidium or the LCY Central Committee Presidium, that is, an organ that would essentially be a collective president with the provision that that collective president would be the Central Committee, whereas the Presidium would be what it is today--an executive political organ with its president rotating every year? These are all working theses and they will be extensively discussed both within the League of Communists and among the public in the debate preceding the 12th LCY Congress, which will be announced within the next few days together with political and statutory proposals and the foundations of the concept of the congress.

How do we work in the Presidium today? Literally collectively. The Presidium members who are professionally engaged in the LCY Presidium's work, as I am, are charged with responsibility for individual sectors of work. But these assignments are not firm nor do we work only in the sectors for which we are responsible: We all work more or less in all sectors, for no single Presidium member can make any decision or adopt a political position on a certain problem alone. If a position or a view is required, then it can only be adopted by the Presidium as a whole. I would say that at times that is also one of our handicaps: We have so many issues on our agenda that our sessions last as long as 10 hours and when they last less than 10 hours, we are very pleased, for views on all matters must be adopted collectively. During the past year the Presidium has usually been meeting once weekly. What essentially facilitiates the LCY Presidium's work is the practice of speaking completely openly and democratically in the Presidium, a practice that has been introduced especially in the last few years. We have really made great progress in this respect. I can say with full responsibility that nothing is left unsaid.

NIN: As a Presidium member you are in possession of statistics and other indexes on the basis of which it is possible to appraise the current political situation in the country. How do you appraise the general state of affairs?

Dolanc: Statistics are statistics and life is life. It is difficult to gauge the political mood with statistics even though they can provide us certain additional or "evidential" indexes. For instance, the number of strikes in 1980 was far smaller than previously and the number of political prisoners has been usually the same for a number of years now, and I would say that that number is negligible: Statistics show that in the last 4 years the number of persons sentenced for political offenses in the entire country has stayed every year at 46 persons; the number of political violations was somewhat higher for understandable reasons in 1980 because in that year the criteria were stricter because of President Tito's illness. The economic crime rate is also declining....

I would say that despite difficulties and a certain decline in the standard of living, we can say that we have a good situation. That does not mean that the situation might not change if the economic situation deteriorated. I think that if last year's stabilization results continue in 1981 it will be good. Second, our firm determination not to allow any further decline in the standard of living has already yielded certain results. We believe that we must continue to insist on reward according to the results of work, which at the same time implies that personal incomes must continue to be increased even though not completely in accordance with increase in productivity because we keep approximately 4 percentage points in reserve to pay for what we had spent before we produced it and to pay our foreign debts. I also think that the firm accord that we have reached, that all basic requirements of life, must be available, will hold. These are food and medical articles.

If we achieve that, I think that we will ensure all the necessary conditions for a continued good political situation accompanied by constant and serious struggle to further democratize social relations as a whole. I think that the struggle for further democratization should not be disputed even though there are tendencies or perhaps even attempts to jeopardize the achievements, in view of our economic difficulties and other things. I think that any attack on our democracy would seriosly threaten our development.

NIN: In your opinion, to what extent has Tito's departure influenced monolithic unity and to what extent has the system itself matured?

Dolanc: I think both are true. It is quite certain that Tito's death has strengthened responsibility, because now it is no longer possible to count on Tito being here and on being able, whenever there is a difficulty, to go to that man who will then say with inviolable authority: thus or thus, although I must say that Tito did not use his authority in such a way to make judgements. Prior to making a decision, Tito always examined all aspects of the issue involved in a democratic discussion and atmosphere and, both as an individual and as the president of the republic or the LCY president, avoided making personal judgments. I collaborated with him for nearly 9 years as the secretary of the Central Committee and altogether for 12 years, and I can say that whenever some acute problem was involved Tito convened a joint session of the Presidency and the Presidium and we also went with the problem to the Central Committee....

Therefore, as much as it is quite certain that Tito's death has intensified the responsibility both of communists and of all citizens of Yugoslavia and has moved us to close our ranks and has made us more responsible, I am equally convinced that relatively quick maturing of the system has brought us to a stage at which we are today an organized society capable of solving calmly, democratically and, I dare say, also effectively, all the problems facing us.

I owe you an answer, that is, an answer to a part of the previous question, lest it appear that I have some reason for not answering it: I have in mind the stories about Tito's succession with which the outside world pressured us. I think that that topic has been completely superseded just as I think that the problem of "Tito's succession" has never seriously existed as a political problem. There was speculation abroad, speculation by those who did not understand us and by those who wanted to provoke certain conflicts in the country and, by launching such reports, to sow mistrust among us and, in the last resort, also mistrust toward the leadership. I think that it is now clear to all, that is, at least to all serious political circles in the world and to all serious newspapers in the world, that we have in fact passed painlessly through what was called "the post-Tito period." On the other hand I think that that term is inaccurate because I believe that this is Tito's period, because his entire policy is being essentially continued.

NIN: Can it be said that our basic mobilizing slogan of "brotherhood and unity" has a different substance today than during the period of revolution and that brotherhood and unity obviously result from the essence of our common, fraternal and united economic and other interests?

Dolanc. It is quite certain that brotherhood and unity or, as we would say in the political vocabulary, the equality of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia, is one of the basic achievements of the revolution. The fact is that Yugoslavia can only exist as it is. Analyze that fact by considering all parts of the country from Slovenia to Macedonia.

Second, during the national liberation war and in the period since then to this day we have been solving the problem of equality through our system of authority and through the composition of our organs and leaderships, not only within the political system but also in sociopolitical organizations.

But it has become increasingly evident that the problem of equality is a problem of economic equality. That is quite normal and could not be expected to be different. It is quite certain that we will be able to say that the national issue has been definitely and finally solved in our country only when a certain level of economic development of all our republics and provinces is reached. Naturally the question then is: What is economic equality? Does it mean that we all live in the same way and that we all have the same standard of living? I think that that is wrong. I see the problem of economic equality as a dynamic development within which all peoples and nationalities and all republics and provinces all have opportunities for quicker economic, cultural, social and national development and assertion. Equality must be considered in a constant association of all economies, that is, if I may put it this way, of all national economies in a unified economy of Yugoslavia.

I think that all republics and provinces have made great progress and that differences are diminishing. After all, everyone can clearly see that even though it can be claimed, on the basis of various statistics, that this is not so. I would say that only Kosovo has not advanced as quickly as it should have, although it has also made great progress. However, we must consider the problem of the level of development as a relationship between developed and undeveloped, that is, as a process which has two limits, which again quite certainly implies--as in any relationship between several partners--that the reasons for any relative dissatisfaction must be sought on both sides.

But because what is involved in the problem of economic equality is a process, there is one thing that must be openly stated. There are theses that say: When a republic or province reaches a national per capita income of $30,000 whereas my republic or province still only has a national per capita income of $20,000, we must still speak about inequality, that is, about different levels of development. There are quite serious people who say such things. but I think that there is nevertheless a limit beyond which we will have to stop talking about lack of development and that means also about inequality. We discussed that on several occasions and we concluded that we would work out the criteria to determine development or lack of development, but so far we have not succeeded in doing it. We are now once again engaged in working out such criteria. However, I must say that science has been of little help to us in finding the criteria: We have sought the views of economic institutes and we have received eight different criteria from eight institutes, which means that what was involved in this report was not science but the political views and interests of the individual communities.

NIN: A certain high official has told us the following anecdote: Participating in discussion at a session, he asked why the party is interfering in everything and even dismisses and replaces directors. Another participant in the same discussion replied: It is natural that the party is dismissing and replacing people because it appointed them in the first place. That was naturally said in jest but it did point out a serious problem. Do you agree?

Dolanc: This question is now frequently raised in various ways and in various places. I think that the League of Communists has the right not to dismiss and replace but to provide the initiative for replacing a director, a minister or some officeholder. It has that right even under the Constitution, as a sociopolitical organization, just as, after all, other sociopolitical organizations also have that right.

NIN: Does that not open, in a developed self-managing society with recognized pluralist interests, the question of implementing democratic centralism in the party, and not just in the party?

Dolanc: That is now one of the very serious current problems for our society as a whole and especially for the League of Communists. Why? Because we usually speak about democratic centralism as a principle on which the League of Communists is organized.

I think that our party has made a great contribution to developing the theory and practice of democratic centralism in a workers' party, but I think that now, in a delegate and self-managing system like ours, we face a number of dilemmas. For instance, the position on a problem is formed at a party forum and another position on the same problem is formed in a self-managing organ or even in the Assembly. The question now is what are the rights and obligations of a member of the League of Communists within the self-managing organ: Is he bound to advocate the position of the League of Communists or has he the right as a self-manager to debate freely? I think that a member of the League of Communists is fully entitled to freely discuss all problems in a self-managing body or organ because if he did not have that right, then it would appear that members of the League of Communists have fewer rights than other working people. But what happens then with the principle of democratic centralism which obliges members of the League of Communists to obligatorily defend the party's positions, including in self-managing organs and assemblies? These are dilemmas that must be resolved. In my opinion it is not only a question of democratic centralism but essentially a question of the role of the League of Communists in the self-managing society. Thus agin, following that question of yours about the party and directors, we come to the question of the place and role of the League of Communists in self-management. The League of Communists obviously must adopt positions only on the basic ideological directions of this society's development, whereas all other problems must be discussed by the Assembly and other self-managing organs and other sociopolitical organizations. And the League of Communists must discuss some solutions only when it becomes clear that the solutions concerned are, let us say, in direct conflict with the basic strategic directions of its activity as the vanguard of the proletariat. As it is, it often happens that the League of Communists adopts some positions and then it becomes unclear what the self-managers should discuss and what decisions they should make as the League of Communists had already decided everything. In my opinion the League of Communists must interfere and intervene whenever any deviations and conflicts occur and I cannot either consider or imagine things in any other way. But since the 11th congress, at which we saw and programmed the role of the League of Communists in this manner, we have not discussed it. I think that a public discussion on these questions should be initiated, because, since Kardelj, no one else has spoken or worked on that....

NIN: In one of your recent statements you said that federal officials often find themselves in a position during meetings in the federation that they receive telephone calls from their republic or province suggesting to them what positions they should adopt, something that obviously makes work in the federation more difficult. Do you, as a federal officeholder, also receive telephone calls from Slovenia?

Dolanc: Listen, it is quite certain that I have contacts with Slovenia, because after all it was the congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia that elected me and made me a delegate to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, but be assured that I have never received a single directive from Slovenia; and even if I did, I would only carry it out if I considered it correct. I naturally consult the comrades in Slovenia, but I also consult people in other republics and provinces. However, I see that problem somewhat differently. I think that many comrades who come to the federation from their republics or provinces do not know the problems of other republics and provinces. For instance, a person sits there in Ljubljana and primarily knows Slovene interests and Slovene needs and problems but has never faced the problems, interests, demands and even difficulties of other republics. It is then clear that short circuits often occur in this connection.

For that reason I think that no comrade who wants to be engaged in politics in our country or who thinks that he can be an officeholder in his republic or province, may become that unless he has spent at least 4 years working at the federation level. We in Slovenia seriously contemplate implementing this principle either through some law or accord, the principle that no one may hold a responsible position in Slovenia unless--if I may put it this way--he has passed a 4-year school in the federation, because it is only by knowing the common Yugoslav interests and problems that a person is able to honestly and correctly act in his own republic or province. That is what Kardelj said and it is fortunate that, although he was gravely ill, he found the strength to write about it in his book "Directions of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management." We all knew it and we all felt it, but no one before him used and defined the term of "the multitude of socialist self-managing interests" or, as it is called, "the pluralism of self-managing interests." We all noticed that we had problems and conflicts and we often dramatized them whereas now, since we have defined it, we understand that diversity is not a tragedy but law and reality and that the interest closest to the common interest can and must be determined only by accords and agreements. If we work in that way, then all those problems in the functioning of the federation will be eliminated.

NIN: As long as we are already speaking about the functioning of the federation, will you tell us your views on what could be called the phenomenon of general singing of the song "Yugoslavia?" After a period of cooling, is that not a good sign that the ordinary people seek greater integration and unity in the community although they do not seek any centralist or unitarianist integration and unity?

Dolanc: I think that we often wrongly interpret certain stages of our development. I would not say that any cooling in the relations between peoples and nationalities has occurred in our country. I think that we have had certain problems and difficulties and that we will have them in the future, but the attitude toward Yugoslavia has been confirmed by an enormous majority in a plebiscite-like manner on several occasions since the war. It was not confirmed only during the war but also, if you will, in 1948, 1968, 1971 and constantly in 1980. I am happy that this is so. For instance, I am always very happy when I hear that song or the anthem at sports events even at times when our athletes do not give good performances. I think that this is what we discussed before: The feeling of belonging to a society that ensures personal, national and social prosperity and security.

NIN: The morals of officeholders have been discussed rather frequently lately because there are views that an office imposes obligations and that an officeholder may not do everything that an ordinary citizen may. Is that what is understood by the term personal example?

Dolanc: I, on the other hand, think that all the rights and obligations that apply to all other citizens, also apply to officeholders. If I have no special rights, then I certainly also do not have any other obligations regarding my personal behavior, except the obligations that every honest person has in this country. I think that the problem is honesty and, when it comes to that, I think that an officeholder in the Executive Council or the Central Committee must be honest just as a worker at his place of work, in administration or anywhere else must be honest. It is quite certain that we--if I may put it that way--in the "more forward positions" are more conspicuous. That is one thing. And another thing is, I think, the fact that our people still connect officeholding with some kind of fame as though an officeholder is some kind of a special person, an individual of a different type; I am not. I am a completely ordinary person with faults and good points.

NIN: In this connection there has been talk about various privileges, about the use of small airplanes.

Dolanc: Listen, do not talk to me about small airplanes; I, too, would use them if I were not afraid of them. I can say this to you: These airplanes are often talked about, but just consider how long my day would be; even if my day had 72 hours, I would not be able to go everywhere I am invited. In general I think that there is a certain petit bourgeois attitude toward the behavior of officeholders. It is certain that because he is before the eyes of the public an officeholder must be careful in his actions, but then consider this: Are the officeholders ordinary people holding official positions or are they individuals of a special type?

NIN: In your new year DELO interview you mentioned data that was not known to the public, nor has it been known that any such statistics exist: You said that your personal income occupies a place between 800th and 900th on an income ranking list in Yugoslavia and that you spend one-third of your income for food and housing expenses....

Dolanc: Incorrect; I said for housing and heating. Unfortunately I heat my home in Ljubljana with Russian gas and pay monthly about 600,000 old dinars to heat an apartment of 134 square meters. But, truthfully, it is my personal problem that I have such heating....

NIN: That is not the essence of our question. We think that it is not good for the system of remuneration in our country if you, who occupy that prominent position, rank somewhere around the 800th place on the list of incomes in Yugoslavia and that what is even worse is the fact that immediately after you at 950th place, and then perhaps all the way to the 50,000th place, there are various chiefs, secretaries or self-managing interest communities and that entire administrative machinery that occupies all those places for which it cannot be said that they earn such high incomes on them. By this example we want to raise the question of administration: Will it devour us?

Dolanc: You have taken only a part of my answer to DELO because I spoke about that in connection with the evaluation and reevaluation of work in our country. For instance, I think that we officeholders have good salaries and that no one among us should complain about his income and that these incomes are quite sufficient for decent living.

As to the problem of administration, I am completely convinced that administration in our country is absolutely too big. In Slovenia they are thinking about administratively reducing administration.... Yes, I mean it very seriously: For the beginning they aim at reducing it by 5 percent annually (but I was in favor of a 50-percent reduction) and if we succeed in reducing it even only by 5 percent, that will already be the first step. But that is not the solution: Even an administrative reduction of administration will not succeed as long as we fail to reevaluate work and as long as administrative work is paid better than production work; and by production work I do not include only physical work, but also everything else, ranging all the way to scientific work, the work of journalists and so forth, because I think that all that is productive work. The interest in administrative work will decline only when we reduce its attractiveness by a general evaluation which will be different from the present one.

NIN: Our conversation has spontaneously led by away from an interesting topic that you yourself started. Let us return to the possible danger of halting the course of democratization about which you spoke in connection with our economic difficulties and in connection with possible aspirations to use the difficulties possibly to restructure democracy instead of further broadening and deepening it.

Dolanc: That would be possible if we yielded under certain pressures. After all, if I may put it simply, what is involved here is not only a question of whether someone will be arrested for this or that but also the administrative actions and the exercise of authority from the sidelines by some unauthorized forums and executive organs outside self-managing relations and the self-managing system.

That can lead to stagnation of our self-managing democracy and also to an about-face. That certainly would not be good because it would amount to taking a shorter road the means of which are not self-managing, for the sake of efficiency, for the sake of order and for the sake of discipline and responsibility.

NIN: We think that development of culture also falls within this sphere. We think that we are in some kind of an ambivalent situation in that respect. Some kind of a blot has been attached to the press as the medium which publishes polemics and critical reviews, primarily because an unusual situation has developed in which it is insufficiently clear to what extent certain cultural spheres have political importance and to what extent it is only evaluation that is involved. There are numerous examples of that.

Dolanc: I think in fact that these situations are more or less normal. Certain things are perhaps understood more sharply in a society which is open and within which different views exist, than in some other societies. And why not? All that seems quite natural to me, considering that we are only at an ascending stage of developing new democratic self-managing relations and that therefore certain things that are normal in some democratic life, appear in our country as excessive. If in this connection no attacks on the basic values of the revolution and of this society are involved (I am not speaking about any specific examples because I am not acquainted with them), then I see no great problems or misfortunes in the fact that these situations occur. On the other hand we all together must yet become accustomed to a democratic political dialogue and to refraining from frequently creating problems for ourselves. You know, following some polemics and problems in culture, I have concluded on more than one occasion that we politicians are often more democratic than certain individual monopolist groups among the so-called cultural circles.

I do not share your view about intensified sensitivity in culture at the present time. First, I think that since the very beginning of the existence of new Yugoslavia and even during the period of administrative socialism , no one has ever been persecuted in our country because of creative cultural work. I claim that no cultural worker has ever come into conflict with the League of Communists or this society because of his concepts of culture and arts and because of his works.

Another matter is the political activity that was hiding behind cultural values. And in such situations and in the period in which we now live, it does happen that certain things become further strained and lead to situations that appear as an attack on creative work in culture, arts and so forth. The problem is elsewhere. We, both in the League of Communists and in the Socialist Alliance, are insufficiently engaged in everyday life and creative work in the individual cultural spheres; and because we are not engaged, we are unable to conduct a dialogue but only appear there when conflict situations develop. But I am convinced that we would avoid many conflicts, if we maintained a regular everyday-type dialogue with creative workers.

GLIGOROV SPEAKS ON SELF-MANAGERS' CONGRESS

LD272058 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)--The resolution for a 3rd congress of Yugoslavia's self-managers scheduled for June this year should be fully concrete and should mobilize people in the struggle for a further development of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia, it was said here today at the first session of the working group charged with drawing up the main document for the forthcoming congress.

The draft resolution will be checked during preparations for the 3rd congress of self-managers and during the congress itself. The draft is expected to mirror the true moods and opinions for Yugoslavia's working class.

In speaking at the working group's session, Kiro Gligorov, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), underlined that the development of self-management in Yugoslavia is the [words indistinct] task of a whole [word indistinct]. This development has its stages, he said, and, thus, needs for changes must not be defined only globally as indefinitely in (?time).

Adducing the example of the dissatisfying position of the associated labor in disposing of its income for illustration's sake, Gligorov proposed that the 3d congress of self-managers should be more definite in saying how and in what [word indistinct] that position of the associated labor could become better.

At this session, too, critical remarks were heard about a widening spreading of the so-called social consultations within socio-political communities (communes, republics, provinces) or among them instead of having self-management consultations and association in the national economy grow stronger. Within this context, it was noted that too much of the institutionalization of self-management has its bad side because the apparatus of self-management institutions like this starts to play the role of power, although it speaks in the name of self-management.

Preparations for the 3d congress of self-managers are in full swing throughout Yugoslavia, it should be added. For instance, the Presidency of Croatia's trade unions (which is to send 371 delegates to the congress) pointed out today that the development of self-management in every environment should be evaulated during preparations for the congress of self-managers. This is also an occasion, it was said, for more widely affirming good experiences and achievements in that respect that exist in many enterprises.

POPIT DISCUSSES STABILIZATION, FEDERATION

AU272034 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 15 Jan 81 p 6

[Report on speech by Franc Popit, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, opening a seminar for secretaries of the committees of the League of Communists' communal conferences and intercommunal councils]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 14 Jan--"If I briefly assess our activities last year, I think that we may be pleased with what has been done. It is clearer and clearer to us that it is possible to achieve economic stabilization only through higher productivity of labor, better organization of work, a more rational manner of business operations and, of course, through the belief that in these activities everything is based on the consciousness, creativity and activity of the working people," Franc Popit, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, said in his opening speech at a seminar for the secretaries of the committees of the League of Communists' communal conferences and intercommunal councils.

Within stabilization, it is important, in the opinion of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, that the relations among the republics and provinces prevailing up to now should begin to be settled on a different basis, particularly as regards relations between the developed and less developed regions.

"When I speak about the search for these accords, it should be said that Slovenia's commitments are relatively less than in the past years, and on the other hand the question has been asked with all severity whether the fund to aid the less developed regions is in the spirit of self-managing and income relations or not," Franc Popit said. "After discussions running for a year, it was decided that one half of the funds granted by the developed regions as aid to the less developed ones should be arranged on the basis of income relations, or rather on the principle of joint investment of funds.

"This is of tremendous importance, for thus the process has begun which will necessarily lead to a transformation of the fund which until now still had the nature of a state fund, and on the other hand associated labor within Yugoslavia will begin to be linked on new foundations. The agreement also means that it will be necessary in future to pay more attention to the economic efficiency of investments or to the use of funds allocated for the development of less developed republics and the Province of Kosovo."

Work Organizations of Slovenia Must Promote Joint Investments in Less Developed Regions

"We are certainly interested in having these relations formed in a new way. Therefore, our Executive Council got in touch with the Executive Council of the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It appears there are about 24 projects enabling joint investments, which would embrace half of the funds intended for development of less developed regions. Representatives of the Slovene Executive Council will also go to Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo to find our interest in harmony with their interests. For instance, in Macedonia it is a matter of investment in agriculture, especially the growing of early vegetables, which does not mean that economic cooperation is impossible in other fields. Kosovo is a similar case, and there we are investing in energy generation. In Montenegro, opportunities probably lie above all in tourism.

"It seems to me that the federal nature of Yugoslavia sometimes disappears from our attention. The federal nature is important, because relations among nationalities are being resolved on this basis, as is stated in the Constitution. In a nationally heterogeneous society, like the Yugoslav one, we must constantly bear this in mind. Therefore we must not yield to trends which run toward unitarianism, which is to say in the direction of those who forget that Yugoslavia is a federal state. In understanding the role of the federation, one can see that unitarianism has not been defeated, for it is sometimes ignored that Yugoslavia is a federal state and that in fact each one of the peoples composing Yugoslavia has transferred a part of its rights and obligations to the Yugoslav community. Within it, we are organized on the delegate principle and we are responsible both for the development of our republic and at the same time of Yugoslavia as a whole, so that no alienated organs decide on our future. However, attempts are often made to present the situation as if it were the Yugoslav Constitution that accords rights to the republics or peoples and not the other way around.

"It would also be wrong not to be aware of some tendencies--we usually call them nationalisms--which may appear on the republican level. There are republics with several nationalities, and therefore the tendencies appearing in them do not always reflect the individual nations or nationalities alone, but also the republic as a whole. We have to deal with republicanism which is equal to nationalism. When assessing relations inside Yugoslavia, we must always bear in mind three things: first is a federal Yugoslavia organized in a self-managing way; second are tendencies striving at a centralist system; and third are tendencies striving at disintegration, republicanism or nationalism."

Remarks About the Work of Some Organs of Federal Administration, Whose Proposals Sometimes Cannot Be a Basis for Agreement

"This is a subject concerning relations in Yugoslavia which until now has been taboo for many. It is characteristic of last year that these relations have become a matter of public democratic discussion. The implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility is a similar matter. During our last visit, when we saw him at Karadjordjevo immediately before his illness, Comrade Tito stressed that the essence of democracy is in whether the workers decide on the conditions and results of their work. From this angle we must actually look at all things, including the 1-year term of office.

"Discussions about the term of office of the president of the Federal Executive Council were most numerous last year, but we did reach an agreement on this, too. It is true that Slovenia, too, has much to remark about the work of the federal organs, especially the activities of the federal administration. Sometimes one has the feeling that some people in the federal administration cannot reconcile themselves with the fact that they no longer have the role they used to hve, and this attitude sometimes hampers agreements among the republics. Our delegates to the SFRY Assembly, too, frequently have remarks to make about the memoranda prepared by some organs of the federal administration, because they face the delegates with unprepared proposals lacking objectivity, or such poor ones that they cannot be a basis for reaching agreement. Sometimes the search for agreements and accords was rather complicated, so that thoughts appeared about possible extraordinary measures. Slovenia was resolutely against such extraordinary measures, for they would not solve anything. Some 3 months later we would have the same question unsolved again. For instance, if it is a matter of the SFRY foreign exchange balance, the result would be that we would be completely devoit of foreign exchange; and it could happen that the opportunity for agreement would be frustrated. When all is said and done, it is clear that we must reach agreement. Of course, it is easier if the proposals and foundations for agreement are really well prepared.

Self-Managing Interest Communities Are Not Sufficiently Aware of Their Duties

"There is something similar in our republic now. It is a matter of laws that should be adopted in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, because the self-managing agreements on financing social activities have not been signed. This is really unacceptable. What are they doing? Neither the communal committees of the League of Communists, the communal assemblies nor the work organizations should allow anybody to frustrate self-managing agreements. Sure, education, health, culture, physical culture and so forth have their requirements. It is another question whether the agreements have been well prepared. I will allow the possibility that the proposals were bad, for the apparatus in the interest community frequently is such that it does not take care of these things. Now we are in a position when there may be no agreement and the Assembly must then prescribe the rates of contributions. But if we have to do that, I am in favor of writing down in the law the purposes for which the funds are pooled, and at the same time determining that such and such amount of this money is to be allocated for personal incomes of those employed in the self-managing interest communities. The Executive Council has the right to do this. It not only has the right, but it is also according to the Constitution. If the state must intervene, if the self-managing interest communities and their apparatus cannot or will not do it, let the state prescribe how much it will pay for the work in the self-managing interest communities."

DRAFT ECONOMIC PLAN FOR MONTENEGRO REPORTED

LD271454 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 27 Jan 81

[Summary] Titograd, 27 Jan (TANJUG)--The estimates of the draft plan for the medium-term development of Montenegro in the period up to 1985 were announced today at a joint session of all the chambers of the Montenegrin Assembly. In 5 years' time Montenegro should attain a degree of development amounting to 2.160 of the social product per head of population or 8 percent more than was attained during the preceding 5 year period. With an anticipated yearly growth of social product of about $97 per head of population, the republic could attain approximately the same relative ratio vis-a-vis the average degree of development in Yugoslavia which it had 5 years ago. The earthquake has slowed down the process of bridging this gap.

The draft plan, explained to the delegates by Milorad Stanojevic, vice president of the republican Executive Council, envisages that in the distribution of the social product the organizations of associated labor should increase their share from about 62 percent last year to almost 65 percent in 1985. This is not a spectacular progress in the consolidation of the material position of associated labor but it would enable the reproduction ability of the Montenegrin economy to attain the average for the federation. An increase of 13.5 percent in the export of commodities and services is planned during the ensuing 5 year period. By 1985 employment should be found for almost 31,000 people.

The need to more evenly develop republican regions is closely tied to the Yugoslav policy of economic stabilization, and this is one of Montenegro's key development objectives. It is envisaged, therefore, that 60 percent of the total resources form the federal fund for the development of inadequately developed republics and Kosovo during the next plan period be used in the inadequately developed municipalities. This amounts to 8.5 billion dinars.

ADDITION TO BAKARIC ON DOMESTIC, FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The following addition to the item entitled "Bakaric Discusses Domestic, Foreign Affairs," published in the 29 December 1980 Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page I 7, is supplied by Belgrade Domestic Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1900 GMT on 25 December:

On page I 16, after the ninth paragraph, the following new paragraph should be added:

"[Answer] I am not busy. It is rather than I am not fit."

BRIEFS

SKOPJE RADIO NIGHT PROGRAM--Skopje, 23 Jan (TANJUG)--Cedo Stojkovski, the director of Radio Skopje, has announced that a night program will be introduced on Saturday 31 January. At first the program will be restricted to weekends, but during the year it will be expanded to include the rest of the week. The program will consist of good music and programs of an educational and informative character, as well as news and entertainment. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1134 GMT 23 Jan 81 LD]

KURTOVIC HEADS OBSERVANCE COMMITTEE--The first founders meeting of the federal committee for operative business concerning the celebration of the anniversary of the rising and of the socialist revolution of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia was held today in the SAWPY Federal Conference. Todo Kurtovic was elected committee chairman and Luka Soldic was elected secretary. According to the decision on the formation of the committee adopted by the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium its basic task is, mainly at the federal level, to monitor and coordinate sociopolitical activities in the observance of this important anniversary. [Text] [Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Jan 81 LD]

CORN HARVEST IN VOJVODINA--According to the Secretariat for Agriculture of Vojvodina, corn still remains to be harvested on 625 hectares of land in social ownership and on 49,039 hectares of private holdings. Private farmers have sold 228,970 tons of corn in grain and 23,480 tons of corn on the cob. It is estimated that almost 370,000 carloads [3,700,000 tons] of corn has been harvested on social farms. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 81 p 10 AU]